388.398

THE NEW AGE

A JOURNAL DEVOTED TO CULTURE AND PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE

EDITOR H. D. RAJAH.

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
24 JAN 1940
MADRAS

VOL. III FEBRUARY 1937 NO. 9

CONTENTS

		PAGES
1.	At the Cross Roads at Faizpur	299
2.	The Faizpur Session of the Indian National Congress ...	304
3.	The Red Dictator	309
4.	The Conditions of Indian Labour in Malaya ...	311
5.	Lenin As a Revolutionary Writer	314
6.	Faizpur Conference of the Congress Socialist Party ...	318
7.	Lay Man's Impressions of London Life	326
8.	The Struggle Before the Railway Workers	328
9.	The Trade Union Congress Decides to fight... ...	335
10.	Bravo! Muslim Youth!	337
11.	Notes and News	339
	Spain—Non-Intervention—British Foreign Policy—The Policy of Isolation—German aims—Herr Ribbentrop's Crusade—Germany & Colonies—The Tactic of Causing Disintegration—	

THE NEW AGE

(A New Journal for the New World.)

IT CONTAINS:—

Instructive Articles

Interesting Features

Trenchant Criticisms

Thought Provoking Matter.

It is popular, it is new, and it is brilliant. Order a Copy now, or become a subscriber

For Particulars.

THE MANAGER,

The New Age Office,

3, Kondi Chetty St., Madras.

24 JAN 1940
MADRAS

Sprains

Sprains result from conjestions of muscles. Rub a little Amrutanjan on the affected muscle for relief.

AMRUTANJAN

CURES ALL ACHES & PAINS

BEST AND CHEAPEST

ALWAYS IN STOCK ! *READY FOR SALE !!*

All varieties of best fruited Mangoes, Oranges, Guavas, Kamala, Sathgudi, Sapotas, Beautiful Crotons, Palms, Cocoanuts, Tiger Claws, Crysanthamams,

All kinds of best Roseplants, Various Flowering Shrubs, Ornamental Foliges, Good Creepers, and Climbers, etc., etc.

Wanted Capable Agents on good Commission.

For Booking Orders on our behalf in all the unrepresented places in South India.

Our Agents are not authorized to collect any Advance from the parties

---

For Agency Or Price List Please Apply To:—

A. S. RAO'S NURSERY

Kadiam (M.S.M.) East Godavary District.

THE NEW AGE

(Published Every Month)

Annual Subscription Re. 1. (inland) **Single Copy Two Annas**
(*including postage*) **Rs. 3.** (foreign) ,, **Three ,,**

In response to the requests of our well wishers and with a view to make this Journal easily available to all rich and poor, we have gladly reduced its subscription to Re. 1 per year. As the 'New' Age' is intended to serve society by spreading the gospel of a new social order we appeal to the public to take advantage of this concession and help the cause of the Journal by enlisting themselves in large number as subscribers.

All communications intended for Publication should be address ed to the Editor. The Editor is not responsible for any statements or views expressed by contributors The articles intended to be published in the magazine should reach the office before the 25th of every month. The articles should be legibly written on one side of the paper only. Typed manuscripts will be preferred. The pages of this jounrnal are open for expression of advanced thoughts on political, social and economic problems.

Business notice:—All business correspondence and all moneys and cheques intended for the journal should be sent to the Manager.

For particulars regarding advertisement rates and sale of copies apply to the Manager.

Wanted: Capable young men to canvass Subscribers and advertisements for the Journal on decent salary or commission.

Apply to:—The Manager,
THE NEW AGE.

3, Kondi Chetti Street, Madras.

122735

The New Age

VOL. III FEBRUARY 1937 NO. 9

EDITORIAL.

AT THE CROSS ROADS AT FAIZPUR

"The History of the Congress shows that while one or two delegates may be have in an undesirable manner the rest are invariably faithful."

—Rajendra Prasad (Subjects Committee, Faizpur Congress.)

"Undesirable"—that is how the Right wing leaders of the Congress, as typified by Rajendra Prasad, would like to call the Left wing. Born out of the changing conditions of the world in general and of India in particular, the Left wing of the Congress is growing day by day to symbolise the united fighting force of the exploited in our country. Trade Unionists who have valiantly fought for bread and for better conditions for the workers, representatives of the Kisan Committees who have organised the peasants to fight against inhuman exploitation, delegates from student and youth organisations who have for the first time in our country built up a militant movement of the youth of India came to Faizpur carrying with them the demands and mandates of the people of India. They had to be faithful to the people they represented, and they came to the Congress to make it faithful to the cause of the people. That is why Rajendra Prasad found them unfaithful to the Congress. The Left wing wanted the Right to be faithful to a Congress voicing the demands of the Indian people, while the Right wing demanded the Indian people to be faithful to a Congress trumpeting the dictates of Rajendra Prasad and Co. If the champions of Home Rule and Dominion Status rose from their graves and accused Rajendra Prasad of unfaithfulness for talking glibly about Independence, what would be the defence of the Right wing? Just as the march of History has thrown Home Rule and Dominion Status in to the political dustbin, so also the new historical conditions demand that the political leadership of the Right wing of the Congress should go to the wall.

A whole people is rising in discontent, a new political consciousness is awakening within the teeming millions, a new voice is thundering over the four corners of the country that is ours. Rajendra Prasad is afraid of it.

"As I do not understand the meaning of the words used by the supporters (Left wing) of the amendments I am afraid of them."

It is not true that he does not under-

stand the words: mass demands, mass struggle, working class power; but it is true that he is mortally afraid of them. Behind the slogan of independence stands the principles of class struggle. It is impossible to deny or to fail to recognise this simple fact. Independence for us must mean freedom from exploitation freedom from the crushing burden of poverty and unemployment. And exploitation, which alone breeds poverty and unemployment, does not exist in the abstract; it must be the exploitation of one class by another. Hence the path to independence of our people lies through the bitterest forms of class-struggle. The Right wing is fully aware of this fact, and hence their varied tactics of sabotaging the struggle for independence.

It would not be out of place here to list a few of the Right wing tactics in order to demonstrate how the act of sabotaging is being organised by Rajendra Prasad and Co.

The importance and urgency of a definite agrarian programme of the Congress was sufficiently emphasised by Jawaharlal Nehru at the All-India Congress Commlittee (A.I.C.C.) meeting at Faizpur.

> "It (the agrarian question) is the biggest question. It would not be worthwhile to talk of vague things and to assert in a very general manner that some good should be done to the peasants."

But, in spite of the fact that at the Lucknow Congress it was decided that the Provincial Congress Committees were to submit reports on the agrarian conditions in the provinces, and on the basis of these the agrarian programme was to be formed,

> "No good reports (declared Jawaharlal at Faizpur) had yet been received; out of 20 or 21 provinces about 6 provinces only have sent their reports. The attention of many people today is diverted towards elections."

It is no secret to-day that most of the Provincial Committees, dominated by the Right wing leadership, completely slept, aud are still sleeping, over the Lucknow resolution. In some provinces they even went one step further in the act of sabotaging the agrarian enquiry. The questionaires sent out to the local Congress Committees were drafted in such a way as to minimise the real demands of the peasantry. It was no wonder that they could submit no good reports. And who are these men whose attention was "diverted towards elections?" No other than Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel—the present leaders of the Congress. Soon after the Working Committee of the Congress met at Wardha last July, these two stars of the Right wing inaugurated the election campaign at Bombay by proudly declaring that the immediate fight was the election fight and therefore "all hands to the election campaign." Thus between Lucknow and Faizpur the Right wing was successful in sabotaging the agrarian programme.

At Faizpur the Right wing was quick enough to sense that all was not going well. It, therefore, readily accepted a vague agrarian programme which falls far short of the actual demands of the peasantry, as outlined in the manifesto of the All India Kisan Conference held at Faizpur.

What was the tactic of the Right wing in order to attract the masses towards it?

Led by Mahatma Gandhi the Lucknow Congress had decided to hold the next Congress in a village in order to attract the peasant masses. Mahatma Gandhi came to Faizpur ready with his side show of charka, cottage industry and the rest. But this tactic of the Right wing just overshot the mark. Faizpur was also chosen as the venue of the All-India Kisan Conference. Real peasants in flesh and blood marched to the conference with their red banners and fighting slogans. The

Right wing found that they were playing with fire in trying to humour the masses with the side shows of Gandhi. They completely refused to cooperate with the Kisan Conference, and amply expressed their sympathy with the peasant marchers by saying that "Our friendship is proved by our *permitting* them to come to our session and to use *our* pandal for *their* deliberations" (all italics ours).

The ugly nakedness of the Right wing policy is epitomised in the above few words. So the peasants, according to the Right wing, were a separate entity who had "their deliberations" and the Right wing had erected "our pandal" obviously for "our deliberations," that is, Right wing deliberations!

What were these highbrow deliberations of which the Right wing is so proud?

On the question of accepting ministry, Rajendra Prasad came out with his brilliant masterpiece "Expediency lies in postponing decision." One of his supporters came out even more realistically with the words 'Question of finance is important. Therefore, don't take a decision now." And finally the climax came with Mr. R. C. Singh declaring, "When you accept office then alone can you change the law and give bread to the masses."

G. B. Pant recommends the path of class-collaboration to the B. N. Ry.. workers.

> "If such a court of enquiry is now instituted the strike on the B.N.R. can be amicably settled. The Congress congratulated the workers of the B.N.Ry. on the bold stand that they have taken and hopes that the public will give the strikers their full support and sympathy."

And what about the Congress? Is the Congress going to help the strikers in any way? No. Says G.B.P.,

> "The Congress is involved in a desperate fight with the bureaucracy; it would be difficult for it to spare time to render effective help to the workers."

G.B.P. conveniently forgets that the railways form a vital part of the bureaucracy and that the struggle of the railway workers is a major section of our national struggle.

Add to these examples of complete renunciation of mass struggles and mass demands the fact that Mass contact committees set up at Lucknow have successfully failed to function at all, that the question of collective affiliation of mass organisations to the Congress was again shelved at Faizpur! that loyalists and reactionaries were set up as Congress candidates by the Congress Election Board in preference to genuine mass leaders; that in Bengal, the Congress Election Board would have gladly given its blessings to the reformist candidates for the labour constituencies, had it not been for the strong stand taken up by the United Front Election Board set up by the left organisations of the province; that mass leaders who were opposing reactionary Congress candidates in the elections have been denounced by the Congress; that Prof. Ranga had to withdraw his peasant pledge when threatened with disciplinary action by Sirdar Patel.

We need not add any more examples to get a clear picture of the path that the Congress is going to traverse under the leadership of the Right wing. It is a path of class-collaboration, it is a complete retreat from mass struggle all along the line. Peasants neglected, workers left to themselves, mass organisations kept aloof—can such a policy ever lead us to the goal of independence?

For sometime past it has been quite apparent that the Right wing of the Congress is taking the path of reaction and capitulation. But the world did not stand still to let the Right forces go unchallanged in their age-old game of torpedoing the national movement. Things have been moving pretty fast, both here and abroad. The world has

been heading for a great crisis—War and Fascist barbarism. All this could not fail to influence the left forces in India. Although the left forces did not grow out of a homogenous whole, their readings of the Indian and the world situations are fast driving them to the same conclusion that forces of reaction are to be fought here and now as ruthlessly as it is being done in the international arena. The lead given by Nehru, the Congress President, in defining the Indian struggle in terms of the international struggle against War and Fascism, provided the Left wing in the Congress with the cue to start its frontal attack against the Right. At Lucknow, voices of revolt were heard, but they were much too feeble to scare away the Right wing. Between Lucknow and Faizpur some amount of mass work done by the Left wing outside the Congress gave some reality to the strength of the left forces as a whole. At Faizpur, the Left appeared with increased strength. Although most of the amendments proposed by the Left wing at the Subjects Committee meetings were lost, the votes cast for the amendments are a good indication of the growing strength of the Left.

Amendment Re:	Votes cast For	Votes cast Against
Rejection of ministry	48	87
Constituent Assembly	45	83
Help to the B.N.R. strikers	27	51

Boycott of King's coronation Lost in the ratio 1: 2 and, finnally. a left resolution for declaring the day of inaugurating the new constitution as a day of Hartal was carried by an overwhelming majority of 73 against 21.

But even with their increased strength the Left were no match for the Right at Faizpur. The Right wing gave a picture of solid unity in everything—even in their absurdity. But the Left entirely lacked that unity which is absolutely essential to fight a reactionary majority. They lacked the courage of conviction. Many of them were not bold enough to drive things to the extreme. And worst of all, there was hardly any attempt to expose the motives of the Right wing. Of course, the Right wing was bound to gain victory at Faizpur because of its absolute majority. But the cause of their easy victory lies in the weakness of the Left.

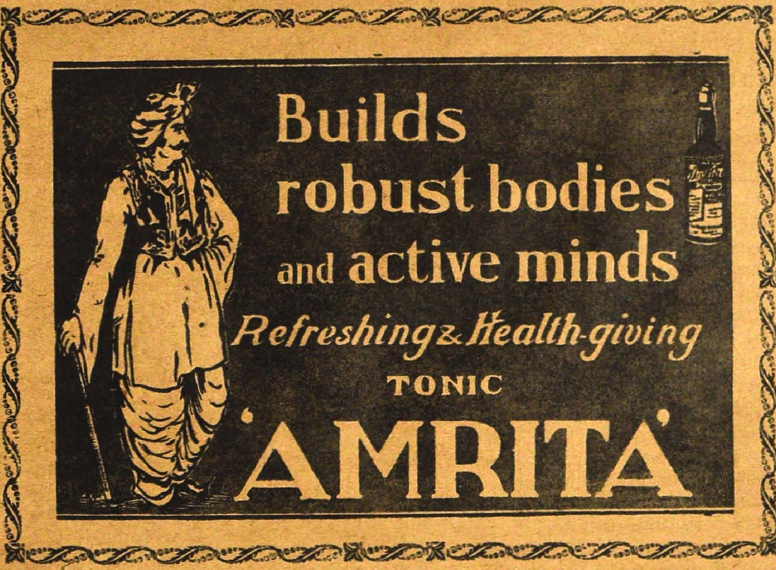
But we have nothing to be sorry about for our loss at Faizpur. We have lost nothing which we previously possessed. Rather, we have gained something which is going to prove valuable in the future. We made ourselves felt at Faizpur. Through resolutions and amendments we gave a programme of action which alone can lead the country to independence. At Faizpur we have let the country know that Mass Action is the keynote of our policy. The Kisan Conference, *vis-a-vis* the Congress, stands out as a living example of what a mass organisation can be and what it stands for. We have clearly demonstrated to the Right wing which way the Left are moving and what a tremendous force they can be when united and properly led.

How, then, is the future to be shaped? It goes without saying that the Right will turn more and more reactionary. They are already on the job. Patel threatens disciplinary action against those Congress candidates who have signed the peasant pledge of Prof. Ranga. There is the National Convention to be held after the elections, which is calculated to perpetuate the reactionary Right wing leadership over the national movement. Of the 1,000 Congress candidates, who are likely to be returned in the elections, most will be strong adherents of the Right policy. The A. I. C. C. is predominantly Right in character, and the Working Committee of the Congress, another stronghold of the Right, will perhaps invite Liberal and other reformists and reactionaries to the Convention. The elected candidates, the A. I. C. C. and the invited people will form the Con-

vention. This will give the Convention the appearance of the largest representative body of the Nation. And there the Right will carry the day with an overwhelming majority. That is the big game that the Right wing is up to.

What, then are the tasks of the Left wing? The lessons learnt at Faizpur must be immediately put to practice. *Unity and Mass Action* that must be the basis of all our activities in the future. All left forces in the country must immediately meet in a conference to decide about the programme to be placed before the Convention. The masses must be roused to activity in support of this grogramme. Mass meetings must be held all over the country where resolutions in support of the programme will be passed. Wherever possible electors must force their respective candidates to accept this programme. We must always remember that it is mass pressure and mass pressure alone that can radicalise the Congress.

It must be agreed by all that the burning question of the United Fornt cannot be solved within the Congress with its present Right wing leadership. Can we wait till the leadership changes and the Congress seriously takes it up? No. The masses are craving for a strong United Front. The overwhelming success of the United Front Election Board in Bengal should be an eye-opener to those who cannot conceive of the United Front outside the Congress. Either the left must unite immediately at all cost, or it must go down before the organised forces of the Right wing of the Congress. Let us take time by the forelock and build up a mighty United Front of the people of India, which alone can replace the Right wing leadership. Let the good work started at Faizpur be continued through Unity and Mass Action. Let Faizpur be the beginning or the end of the reactionary leadership of our national movement.



THE FAIZPUR SESSION OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Since the last session of the Congress at Lucknow, the conflicts between the forces of progress and reaction have become more intense both abroad and in our own country. In the words of the Congress President, "these forces have come to closer grips." The Faizpur Congress met under the shadow of these mighty conflicts. Abroad, these months have witnessed the enslavement of the people of Abyssinia by fascist Italy, the penetration of Japanese Imperialism in China, the combined attack of foreign and Spanish Fascists against the Spanish People's Government; the preparations of Nazi Germany and Japan for war against U.S.S.R., the growing sympathy of British Imperialism with Fascism. At the same time, the Soviet Union has been pre-eminent as the most consistent factor for world peace, and by its splendid lead has rallied the people's movements all over the world for democratic rights, freedom and peace. The United Front movement against Fascism and Imperialist war have grown : and broad, popular and determined resistence has been shown to the reactionaries everywhere. The great struggle of the Spanish people is the most recent and the most splendid example of this popular resistance. The advance of Fascism brings the meance of world-war nearer.

In India these months, in spite of all Imperialist white-washing and window-dressing, have brought no relief to the Indian people from hunger, unemployment, debt, political subjection or cultural backwardness. On the contrary, through manipulations of the monetary and banking system, through rigid control of the tariff policy, through the foisting of a new reactionary political machinery. Imperialism hopes to shift the burden of the economic crisis on to the Indian people, to broden its own base and strengthen its hold. The combination of reactionary forces, and the pursuit of reactionary policies have helped to jolt the masses into consciousness, have helped to spur the progressive intellectuals to action. Peasants, workers, clerks, students are all astir. This bustle and activity is by no means properly organised. Today the Congress is the largest and most important anti-Imperialist organisation, and hence it should become the forum of the anti-Imperialist movement.

At present, however, the Congress, is not able to fulfil this role. This is because the leadership within the Congress itself is not entirely and irreconcibly opposed to British Imperialism, but on the contrary is ever-willing to forego the anti-Imperialist movement of the masses, in return for petty concessions from Imperialism to its own class, the capitalist class. Hence both at Lucknow, and even more so at Faizpur, the Right leadership of Congress made determined effort to stem the tide of Socialism, maintain its leadersnip and perpetuate its Gandhian ideology in the Congress. In this it was to a great extent successful.

On the other hand, the Socialists, though they have greater influnce than they had at Lucknow, though some of them were determined to find a place in the higher circles of the Congress, were not yet strong enough to prove a serious menace to the Right leadership. They had neither built up the

necessary organised support, nor had they developed the theoretical clarity and nimbleness essential for combatting the Gandnian ideology and manoeuvring. They were helped it is true, by the President, who himself stands for Socialism and for the broadening and democratisation of the Congress. But Jawaharlal Nehru, though inclining definitely to the left, is not able to sever connections with the Right, especially with Gandhi.

Gandhi's role at the Faizpur Congress has been an ominous one. Though technically outside the Congress, he has through his Khadi movement, his village industries organisation and the Harijan movement, kept in touch with section (mostly upper) of the peasantry and the lower-middle classes, and has been able to guide the Right leadership. The holding of the Congrees in a village was his idea, he again laid emphasis at Faizpur on concentrating on the peasantry, in coming into closer touch with them, etc.; and made references to the possibility of his return to active political life, but on the basis of the old programme of Khadi and non-violence. His influence on the masses was remarkable, and it is not too much to say that there is every possibility. if he were to return, of his being able to lead the movement once again. That danger has to be faced.

The main issues before the Faizpur Congress arose out of the world situation and the political and economic situation in India. The immediate issue was that of the new Constitution, and out of it sprang other questions, of the elections, of the General Strike on April 1st, of the Convention and the Constituent Assembly. There was also the question of building up the united front movement, the agrarian programme, the boycott of the Coronation, and the question of war.

The approach of the various sections of the Congress to these questions was naturally different. On the question of the new constitution the Right and Left were both agreed that it must be wrecked, but the Right wanted to limit the activity to the creation of political crisis and deadlocks *inside* the Assemblies. In reality they were paying lip-service to the slogan of wrecking, and were really anxious to accept ministries under Imperialism. It is an open secret that Gandhi had given office-acceptance his blessing. The Left insisted, on the other hand, that office must not be accepted under any circumstances, and the mass movement must be developed to wreck the Constitution. The Left opposition, however, had not completely shed the Gandnian ideology and there was on the part of both Right and Left a tendency to limit the discussion to the acceptance—non-acceptance controversy, as though it were the most important thing and a question of principle. As a matter of fact it is by no means the most imrortant thing. The mass movement outside the legislatures, the formation of United Front Committees, the gradual drawing in of larger and larger number of the people into the struggle on the basis of their day to day demands—all this is for more important. This will create mass pressure, and mass pressure outside can force a minister's hands, mass demands can be pushed forward in the legislatures and Congress ministers can expose the hidden Imperialist nature of the Constitution to the people. But all this was not explained and put forward at Faizpur. The decision was, as was forseen, postponed till after the elections, and it was the general opinion of the Congress leadership that the final decision would be taken by the Convention of the Congress deputies. Thus, the victory of the Right was secured. The one-day strike on April 1st was proposed as a rallying slogan against the new Act, but no clarification of the form of the strike—as to whether it was to be the climax of a number of strikes in Colleges, shops, railways etc.,

on the basis of partial demands, which would initiate a far larger and wider general strike all over the country, or whether as visualised by the Right it would be a hartal of small shopkeepers and students. The general impression, therefore, was that it would be a hartal of the usual petty-bourgeois kind.

A new and very important question was raised at Faizpur, the question of a Convention of Congress Deputies after the elections to the legislatures. Though the initiative was taken by the President, with the idea of controlling and giving some guidance to the Right elements amongst the Congress deputies, it was eagerly snapped up by the Right. Why was this? Because it was immediately seen that this Convention could become influential as an organisation of the Right, seeing that the majority of the Congress deputies would be right-wingers. This organisation would claim to speak for the people, since its members would have been elected. It would stand permanently as a reactionary 'bloc' against the rising popular movement. M. N. Roy carried the Rightist line still further, claiming that the Convention would be the Constituent Assembly, in embryo, since the Congress deputies would express, in however limited a form, the partial sovereignity of the people. This argument simply played into the Rightist's hands because it created the illusion that the Constituent Assembly could come into being under the aegis of British Imperialism and under the present Congress leadership. Dange certainly moved an amendment to the effect that the Constituent Assembly could come into being only after the seizure of power, but this approach was formal and did not show concretely how the Anti-Imperialist mass movement must develop. Over the question of the Convention the Left appear to have been taken by surprise and to have been out-manoeuvred completely. Many of them did not immediately grasp the nature of the manoeuvre and even welcomed the Convention. Their confusion and irresolution on this point was tragic. They should have seized this opportunity to expose the whole shame of the Right and to explain their own conception of the Convention.

The Agrarian programme adopted at the Faizpur Session makes a step forward and shows distinctly the influence of mass pressure of the peasantry and the Left. The Congress now begins to visualise and support the immediate demands of the peasantry. This does not mean, however, that the Congress has accepted *all* the peasant demands or that it has stated its demands clearly and unequivocably. The main immediate demands of the peasantry today or 50 per cent reduction in rent and revenue and a steeply graduated income tax on all agricultural income above Rs. 500, moratorium and 50% reduction in peasant debts, abolition of all feudal levies, guaranteed minimum wage of Rs. 30 per month. How far does the Congress resolution accept these demands? Regarding rent and revenue, the resolution is beautifully vague. It says that rent and revenue should be readjusted and "substantially reduced." On peasant debts, the resolution certainly recognises a moratorium, but is again exceedingly indefinite. It says: "The crushing burden of rural debt should be removed. Special tribunals should be appointed (by whom)? to enquire into this and all debts which are unconscionable or beyond the capacity of the peasants to pay, should be liquidated." On the question of a minimum wage all it says is that there should be statutory provision for a living wage and suitable working conditions for agricultural labourers. It is, therefore, necessary to press for precision and concreteness all the time and to see that this programme forms the basis of our agitation amongst the peasantry and does not become a mere face-saving device of the Rightists. How remarkably shrewd

these gentlemen are not how genuinely anxious they are to shelve the programme can be seen from their refusal to work hand in hand with the Kisan Conference, or to give any importance whatever to that, or to the peasant marchers who trudged 200 miles to Faizpur. "Our friendship is proved by our permitting them to come to our session and to use our Pandal for their deliberations" they said. And that was all. Another example of shelving was over the question of increasing the mass basis of the Congress. At Lucknow a Mass Contact Committee had been set up for this purpose, but this Committee did not function. At Faizpur the whole question was again left to a similar Committee to deliberate upon. Meanwhile the Congress called upon its Provincial Committees to set up Committees of Primary members in villages mohallas, or wards, to make these Committees more active, and granted the right to these committees to consider specific questions. This falls far short of the Left mass demands for collective affiliation of workers' and Peasants' organisations, for the power of recall by the primaries, for the power of meetings of primary members to convene conferences to discuss the all important questions, for the formation of peoples' United Front Committees and the holding of United Front Conferences. Continual mass pressure on the Congress from *below* will alone break the rigid Rightist front. And let us not forget that this is one of our most important tasks today, unless the Congress fights shoulder to shoulder on *every* issue with other Anti-Imperialist oaganisations, it cannot become the forum of the Anti-Imperialist struggle-*the forum that must be built up at all costs.*

The resolution on War marks another step forward. The Congress now definitely realises the war danger arising out of Imperialist rivalries and the growth of Fascism, and it is determined that India must not be allowed to participate in any such wars. The Socialists took this opportunity to analyse the growth of Fascism, to explain the effect of the war-danger on India and to point out the way we must meet it. Here again, however, the Left did not insist enough on more discussion and elaboration, nor did they demand the setting up of permanent organisations to carry on anti-war propaganda and organisation. This would, naturally involve joint United Front Committee with Workers, Peasants and Student organisations, particpating.

On the question of the Coronation the Congress proposed non-participation in the ceremonies. The Socialists suggested a stronger line and proposed active boycott, but the Right opposed this, as they were unwilling at this moment to take upon them-selves the burden of milltant action. This showed again, how their resolution was merely formal and barren of militant anti-Imperialist content. It must be noted, however, that the Left have a very good basis to organise a real boycott movement form below and force the top leadership to follow suit.

What were the achievements and failures of the Faizpur Congress? The *Statesman* correspondent has put his finger on the weak points of both the Socialists and the Right wing. He notices the failure to form a United Front of the Kisan Conference, the T. U. C. and the Congress Socialists, he exposes the pretensions of the Right to represent the whole people in their National Convention. We are not, however, primarily interested in the failure of the Right wing, but in their successes, rather. For, from the successes we guage our own strength. We cannot deny that this Congress Session was a victory along most of the line for the Right leadership, helped considerably by the presence and the utterances of Gandhi. This leadership showed a

determined unity (all hands on the dais rising and falling with almost mechnical precision) and brought out all their big guns against the Left attack. The response of the masses to Gandhi, Rajendra Prasad and Malviya demonstrates how great the hold of Right Reformism still has and shows also that, however, promising the objective situation may be, unless the subjective factor (militant mass organisations and leadership) is there, there is no surety of going forward.

The Left, it is true, have made a considerable advance since Lucknow. Whereas they were hovering on the fringe of the Congress then, they are inside the machinery now. Their line has influenced, if not dominated, the Congress line on almost all issues. within the Left itself, radical elements, insistent on militant mass organisation and united mass action, have gained some ground. But the Left has still to free itself from the remnants of Rightist mentality. For instance, in regard to the acceptance of the ministries controversy, as already pointed out, the Left attack was 'formal,' the conception of mass struggle and mass demands outside the legislatures, of linking together this struggle outside with the attack inside-all this was not clearly brought out. The Left has got to form a more solid and determined front, take the lead in organising the mass basis of the Congress and of other anti-Imperialist organisations. For this purpose the People's United Front Committees must come into being. There is simply no other way of pushing forward, stregthening and coordinating the anti - Imperialist struggle to-day. Only thus will the subjective factor, so essential to our success, be built up.

In view of the ever-growing danger of Imperialist world-war, the attempts of Imperialism to tighten its grip over India through the new act, the Coronation etc., in view of the closing of the ranks of the Right leadership of the Congress, the formation of the Convention and the open move of the Right to accept ministries, the re-emergence of Gandhi, the appearance of M. N. Roy as a confusing factor on the Left Wing; in view of the entire lesson of Faizpur it is essential to forge still stronger and in flesh and blood, the bonds of the peoples' Uuited Front to resist the maneouvres of the Right and to advance the struggle against Imperialism.

An Anti—Imperialist.

THE RED DICTATOR

By

K. Damodaran

Comrade Stalin, the outstanding leader of the oppressed masses, is now fifty-seven years old, out of which about thirty years were devoted to the service of the working class, to the service of Socialism. Born in 1879, in the town of Gory of Tiflis province, as the son of a poor peasant working in a boot factory in Tiflis, he was from the very beginning of his life's journey attacked by various kinds of difficulties. His environments were such that in his very boyhood he was forced to become a rebel—a rebel against autocracy, against injustice and inequality. At the age of sixteen he enrolled himseif as a member of an illegal Socialist Party and at eighteen we see him leading a Marxist Study circle in Tiflis Orthodox Theological College which he had entered after finishing his studies at the Gori Church School in 1893. In 1897 he began to take a more active part in illegal activities and as a result he became a "suspicious character" in the eyes of the authorities who at last expelled him from the college. This was really a blessing in disguise, for Stalin with renewed energy and unweary enthusiasm plunged himself in intense propaganda-work among the labouring masses. Since then he has been a genuine Torch-Bearer of Scientific Socialism sacrificing his all to release the proletariat from the clutches of inhuman zarist exploitation and to build a new social order based on equality and freedom. In 1900-01 economic strikes broke out throughout Tiflis, In 1901 Stalin's room was runsacked. He soon came to know that a warrant for arrest was waiting for him. Without losing heart, he determined to escape. He went into hiding and thence-for-ward he continued to be a professional underground ravolutionary worker under various nicknames till the February Revolution in 1917. From his 24th to his 34th year he was arrested six times and following each imprisonment he was exiled to siberia, but each time he somehow or other managed to escape. Once in 1913, Stalin was discovered at St. Petersberg where he had reached after his escape from exile for the 16th time. His friends immediately with all cleverness characteristic of underground revolutionaries,dressed him in female clothes, but, as ill luck would have it, he could not save himself from arrest this time. With a special guard to watch him he was exiled to Arctic Circle.

When the revolution broke out in 1917 he was in exile in Turuhansk. After February, he returned to Petrograd and began to work as a member of the Central Committee of the Party and also as an editorial writer on the Pravada.

Lenin's death made him realise that his future work was not easy, that a mountain of difficulties was standing on his path, but he never wavered, he never bent his head. With staunch and surprising determination he attacked all obstacles and went forward. "We shall overcome obstacles," he said. "We are not afraid of difficulties." This great quality characteristic of a great revolutionary leader earned stalin the most sincere confidence of the oppressed masses throughout the world.

Some leaders of the Revolution, for some reason or other, were dissatisfied with Stalin. They vehemently attacked him both from the left and the right —from the left by Trotsky who could

not grasp Lenin's teachings in their entirety and so under estimated the role of the peasantry in the revolution; and from the right by Bukharin who under estimated the role of the proletariat in the revolution as opposed to the peasantry, Stalin said:—"The basic problem of Leninism, its starting point is not the peasant problem, but the problem of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, the problem of its prerequisites, its conquest and its upkeep. The peasant problem of the allies of the proletariat in the struggle for power is a supplementary problem.

Not a little strength was required for the reconstruction of rural econmics, collectivization of agriculture and the two victorious Five Year Plans. When he thus began building up Socialism in one country alone he was accused of "National narrowness" by the Trotskyiates who at once tried to weaken the influence of the great co-worker of Lenin and also to confuse foreign Marxists by malicious propaganda. Stalin attacked Trotsky and other petty bourgeois ideologists not because he did not want the permanence of the revolution, but because they could not understand the correct tactics. Let us hear what Stalin has to say:—

" To overthrow in a single country the power of the bourgeoisie and to establish the power of the proletariat does not yet mean to secure complete victory to Socialism. After the proleta riat of the victorious country has consodilated its power, and won to its side the peasantry, it must build up Socialist Society. Does it mean that it will reach in that way a complete victory for Socialism, does it mean that merely with the forces of one country it can finally secure Socialism and preserve the country from intervention and consequently from restoration? No, it does not. To that end the victory of the revolution must take place at least in a number of countries. Therefore the development and support of the revolution in other countries is an essential task of the victorious revolution. Therefore the revolution of the victorious country cannot consider itself a strong entity but only as a strong hold, a means for the acceleration of the victory of the proletariat in other countries."

It is not possible to explain in this short sketch all the differences between Trotsky and Stalin. But one who has studied the vast achievements of present day Russia will have to admit that Stalin's tactics are the correct ones.

Comrade Stalin embodies all the great revolutionary teachings of Marx and Lenin. That is why he has been enshrined in the heart of the world proletariat.

THE CONDITIONS OF INDIAN LABOUR IN MALAYA

The recent deputation for the investigation into the condition of Indian labourers seems to have achieved little or nothing in its efforts. Even the speeches of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Sastri, good speaker though he undoubtedly is, leave much to be desired. The fact that he spoke mainly of Indian education and India, when he should have confined himself to Malayan Labour is sufficiently strong evidence to show on what lines the investigation has been carried out. My reader will say that his choice of topics was appropriate, that Malayans would be interested in Indian affairs. He would then be making a gigantic but excusable error. Exactly the opposite is true. The average Indian in Malaya cares no more for the affairs of his Native land than a cow cares for literature. The majority of them regard Ghandhi with the same feelings that one would contemplate a dilapidated scarecrow (which is saying a great deal). This attitude towards home-affairs seems to have been caused by the mokery to which they are subjected by the Chinese and Malays on account of their Indian blood, which they always associate with a black skin. I speak from experience. I have myself been teased at school respecting my attitude to Ghandhi and sad to say I hastily disclaimed all acquaintance either with him or his precepts. The same may be said for the average Indian born and bred there.

To come down from the subject of the deputation to the vastly more interesting and intelligent, one of labour condition in Malaya. The Indian labourer is generally called "Ramasamy" from the predominance of that particular name among the Tamils. The towns and estates seem to have been equally fortunate in their share of these labourers. Both planters and municipal commissioners have realised that they cannot do without the Tamil labourer. He is to Malaya just what the Negro slave was to virgina and Carolina, the only difference being that he enjoys greater freedom (which is not saying much). The Chinese are an Industrious race but they are less able to stand the heat of the sun. While not denying that he is necessary it must be acknowledged that the Tamil is not very hard-working. to be less euphemistic he is lazy. But only one look at the Malay is necessary to change your opinion of the Tamil's industry.

As is usual the Town Labourer is far less depraved, much wiser and vastly quicker in mind than his fellow of the estate. The hours are shorter, the conditions are better and his food is a great improvement on that of the estate labourer. The wage in both cases do not seem to differ much, which is one reason why the town labourer is unable to save while the estate coolie invests all his earnings on his wife's jewels which are later pawned whenever such a necessity crops up. With the town labourer there seems to be no desire to return to his native land; the town and its attractions are too strong for him. The chinese cinema, the theatre and the toddy-shop-especially the toddy shop-check the growth of any patriotism that he may have within him. He prides himself on being a Malayan Tamil as being distinct from his ancestors and relations in India.

With reference to the toddy-shop it must be observed that it is an institu-

tion which affords pleasure and oblivion to both sorts of labourers. You may not approve of the word "Institution" in connection with the toddy-shop, but nothing short of this word will suit the case, for on the toddy-shop is bulit the fabric of the monarchy (it is nothing else) of the estate, with the Manager at its head. You may deprive him of part of his wages, of his food, even his wife, but deprive him of his toddy-shop and you meet with something little less than a revolution. It is a mistake to blame him for this, you should first blame the Manager who sips his "Shandy" at the club bar. The consequences in both cases are more or less the same. In fact any comparison between the two would result in our favouring the coolie. The only reason why the European refrains from fighting is that he is too drunk to do anything. The coolie, whose drink is far less intoxicating and much healthier in comparison feels the necessity of letting of a little steam, and he does it with a vengeance. The result may be black eye or a broken nose but he goes to work on the next day all the better for it. In fact the toddy shop seems to be a most beneficial institution for the estate; the little ready cash that the coolie possesses after buying provisions for the month goes back into the coffers of the estate, or what is worse, into the hands of the scounderely conducter (all conductors are scoundrels.)

This brings us to the treatment of coolies on the Estates. The coolie is entirely subject to the dictates of the conductor who has no scruples about exploiting him for his own purposes. The usual working hours are from 6 to 2 after which the coolie would rest if things were as they should be, but here the conductor is to be reckoned with. He usually has some small estate of his own on which he forces the coolies to work after 2'o clock, four hours of work for which a measly ten cents is given (I must mention that his ordinary wages are 50 cents per day, which is far less than what the Chinese coolie gets). Even the 50 cents is reduced by the conductor who to please the Manager will undertake to work the coolies for 30 cents per man, but this is a rare case. This proceeding is the result of vanity, a desire on the part of the conductor to show his cleverness, or his cunning or his villainy or whatever you choose to call it. Any quarrel with the conductor will result in the coolie's name being struck off the pay-roll, but the present of a fowl a goat or other sundry presents will soon ameliorate conditions. A coolie may not work for a day and yet receive his wages if the conductor looks on him with favour. If he is sick he is put into a hospital where he sleeps on a wooden bed with a wooden pillow under the hands of a male nurse and a dresser whose desire seems to be either to make or break the man, and in more case than one it happens that he takes the latter alternative. No inquest is held, nothing is heard of it except in the report of the dresser, he dies like "WALTER SCOTT'S" unpatriotic man, "unwept, unhonoured and sung". To those suffering from malaria daily does of quinine are given, and one glimpse of the scene is enough to show that they view the vile, bitter stuff with evident distaste. Pills and capsules are for the higher hierarchies, the coolie must be content with the mixture.

Drinking toddy, chatting with his neighbour, smoking and beating his wife constitute his chier amusements. An occasional visit to the cinema and a jaunt in town vary the monotony of this routine of amusements. If I were to talk of the intellectual life of the coolie, the "cultivated" reader would probably be shocked. That a coolie should think and reason. The reader will however be less shocked when he hears that he has very little stimulus to cultivate his mind. I will not say that he goes to the level of the

beast, that would be an insult to the fauna of any country. The town labour has the benefit of Tamil papers, from which he will gather something about Mussolini and Hitler with a dash of Stalin into the bargain. Tell the estate coolie of Hitler and he will ask you in what estate he is working. Here again you cannot blame him for this; his ignorance is the result of circumsances. There is of course a school in the estate, but this is for children, and as he is not a child he does not stoop to take the proferred learning.

The system of presenting fowls and goats as presents seems to prevail in the school also, though there seems no reason for this munificence.

One of the greatest problems for the authorities is the sex-ratio. There are two men for every one women. If I am making an error it is not one of exaggeration. More murders result from sexual jealousy than from all the other causes put together. The ruin of the estate labourer may truly be said to be "wine and women." If he has suspicions of his wife's fidelity, he finds solace in the toddy-shop. Toddy completes the work of suspicion. He returns home in a towering rage and either one or both of the culprits pay for the infidelity with their lives. You may find fault with the man's sense for such rashness, but the wife is more to blame. Finding two men paying her their attentions her vanity is flattered and she makes dupes of both of them with the result as described above. The Board of Control has tried to make the ratio nearer one, but there does not seem to be an improvement; murders continue on the same scale as before.

This brings us to the care of children on the estates. They wander about, wallowing in mud and filth with only a loin-cloth around their waists. The children are under the care of their mothers until 3 or 4 years of age, after which age, they are left to themselves as their mother have usually to work on the estate. Some of the infants die, but as this is not in the interests of this estate, the deaths do not matter. The coolies who have no knowledge of greater comforts make no murmer. Their freedom however is not restricted., therefore they sometimes leave the estate, but as the only alternative is another estate on the same terms they wisely remain in apparent contentment in the estate of their choice.

The picture I have drawn of estate life may strike the reader as rather gloomy-but it is the truth. There is room for great changes in the estate. It must be remembered that the coolie comes to Malaya because the prospects at home are absolutely nil, because the wages of 50 cents a day or 22½ Rs. per month is a great improvement on the 8 Rs. given grudgingly in India. But that does not lesson the fact that conditions are bad and should be bettered. Before I leave off I might suggest that the deputation might have come in upon the estates like a bolt from the blue. This system of giving a warning of their arrival prepares the Manager and the conductor as to what to except which would not be the case if the visit were a surprise.

V. Pattour.

LENIN AS A REVOLUTIONARY WRITER

IN Lenin, we have the singular instance of a revolutionary who conceived, executed and successfully established a revolution within his own life time. Revolutionaries there have been who predicted the coming of revolution with the conviction of a prophet, and the logic of a mathematician, but their contribution has often been to theory alone. There have been others again, who like the heroes of the French Revolution, have made revolutionary history, but they have, as a rule, been guided more by events than by theory. Lastly, revolutionaries have rarely escaped the ordeal of seeing their own revolution defeated before their very eyes.

This should not surprise us, for revolutions are not casual, but fundamental changes, changes in which two systems face each other in direct or violent opposition. The ruling system possesses the advantage of experience, and of its existing machinery for oppression. If it succeeds in suppressing a revolutionary wave, the old order continues. But for a revolution to succeed, the forces on its side must be powerful enough to destroy the whole structure of the ruling system, and to build up its own revolutionary system, stone by stone, on the ruins of the old order. Both in destruction and creation, a Revolution imposes a colossal task on its supporters. It is not to be wondered at then, that a revolutionary is seldom able to combine so widely different forms of revolutionary activity within his lifetime.

Lenin's interest in revolution was not academic, but vital. He never indulged in rhetoric, for one never uses rhetoric in the expression of ones every day life, and revolution was a part of Lenin's everyday life. One misses in his writings the cheap antics of heroism or of stilted authoritarianism. His writings can be campared to a spearhead, where all arguments and logic is brought to a point, in-escapable and clear. Lenin spoke what he believed, so his speeches were always simple, direct and convincing.

Many amongst us have attempted consciously or unconsciously to imitate Lenin's style, but in nine cases out of ten imitations have proved hollow. Most of Lenin's articles are controversial, written in the form of polemics. His imitators have succeeded only in copying the controversial form of his writings, without in the least grasping their essentially positive character.

Each article which Lenin wrote is an answer to the question "what is to be Done?", and each article betrayed his impatient interest in getting things done. Not once did he use his pen or speech merely to display his khowledge of Marxism. Always he used them to interpret the world of reality with a view to changing it in a revolutinary way.

Lenin's writings extend from detailed articles on the technique of insurrection to abstract philosophical treatises. And yet, in all his works one can trace the essential unity. In his attacks on Mach, he dragged philosophy down to the level of common-sense. He showed that the world of philosophy was identical with the world of our common experience, and any attempt to set up a barrier between the two is a mere pedantic swagger, untruth masquerading under the garb of superior knowledge. Thus, in Lenin's hand, science and philosophy lost their traditional aloofness and became useful

weapons of revolutionary progress. In his detailed articles, on the other hand, he lifts the question of technique, generally held by practical revolutionaries as a problem to be solved on the spot by rule of thumb methods, to the level of science. Insurrection, Lenin held, is an art and a science, and as such has to be studied. Party organisation, must be guided strictly by Party principles and Party programme by Revolutionary Theory. The whole revolutionary movement must throb with one life, as a single system.

Revolution is essentially a material fact, a product of the practical efforts of humanity. But theory, too, has its own origin in past practice. Without theory, a revolutionary movement is like an eyeless Cyclop, hitting blindly, and doing the right thing only by accident. Theory lays bare the true nature of reality. Theory shows to a revolutionary movement, where the enemy lies. Theory points out when, where and how to strike; commonsense cannot take theory's place. So Lenin repeatedly warned practical revolutionaries against the dangers of losing sight, in their woes and worries of day-to-day activities, of the revolutionary movement as a whole, where theory and practice, of to-day and tomorrow, are united by living ties into a single entity.

It is this concept of wholeness which gives Lenin's writings their several characteristic qualities. Compare a standard treatise on philosophy with Lenin's philosophical articles. It strikes you at once that in the former, a philosopher is viewing the world from his own narrow, and almost personal angle. His expression is semi-symbolic, and consequently unintelligible to all who are unfamiliar with his system of symbols. But Lenin's is essentially a more open approach. Lenin shows that classical philosophy has travelled a one-way journey, from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract. More over, centuries of this process have covered and hidden from view the very path which had led the philosopher from the world of reality to his world of symbol. Kant, in his Critique of Pure Reason, proceeds not with an examination of the real world, but with a statement on his categorisation of reality, and Hegel in his Phenomenology of the mind with the manner in which spirit becomes its otherness. It is quite clear that these highly abstract ideas, did not come to these great thinkers suddenly. Years of intellectual efforts, of trial and error, have contributed to the development of their symbols and their final expression. The whole chain of this reasoning, as well as the forces and influences which shaped it, are hidden from the eyes of the world.

But Lenin concealed nothing. He made it emphatically clear, that what led him to philosophic thinking was the revolutionary cause. Did this revolutionary bias distort his view of reality? No. A revolutionary has a greater need of truth than an academic thinker, for he has to struggle with the forces of reality. If he errs in his estimate of reality, defeat will be his certain end. It was Lenin's acute interest in leading a revolution to triumph which gave his search for truth that intense ardour, which few philosophers ever possess. He must know, and know intimately and correctly, the world he seeks to change. He must be sincere and direct in his expression, for his comrades must see as clearly as he has seen, that a revolution is inevitable, that revolution's seeds are in the very nature of the world as it is. He must be complete in his logic, so that his comrades may see the whole chain of evolution of his revolutionary philosophy, and feel with him the same impatient enthusiasm.

It would be a mistake to imagine that "Materialism and Empirio Criticism" was Lenin's only philosophical contribution. This book was written under emergent conditions. Many of Lenin's leading comrades imagined that

Marxism was not a complete philosophical system; that they could enrich Marxian philosophy, by borrowing from professional phisolophers, such as Mach. This compelled Lenin to come forward and to show that in the first place, nothing had to be added to Marxism to make it more complete, because it was already a complete system though not stated in an academic form within the space of a single volume; that what Marx's so-called reformers had actually succeeded in doing was not developing Marxism where it was lacking, but actually mutilating Marxism and providing other philosophical crutches for its support; that what they hailed as the new philosophical system which was to supply the brains to Marx's rustic theory was nothing more than a scientific-sounding paraphrase of an earlier and simpler system of the militant idealist English Bishop, Berkeley. Finally, Lenin showed through his own effort that the true way of developing the Marxian system is not to try and fit it into the categoiries of classical philosophy, that was not Marx's ambition, but to use his system to analyse and understand the complex world of reality, to synthesise and connect separate events to establish their unity, and in every sphere to stimulate revolutionary thought, to nourish and direct revolutionary activity.

When you grasp this central thought of Lenin's, you realise why he never dabbled any more in learned dissertations on Epistomology or Ontology. Not because he had lost interest in philosophy, but that he belived that the problems of modern philosophy are no longer those of the classical. The problem of modern philosophy is to prepare the world for an intellectual understanding of the new world, the Revolution, and the Great changes to come. Thus one is struck while reading Lenin's treatise on Imperialism or the State and Revolution, his thesis in Party Congress, his little brochures such as the Proletarian Revolution or the Collapse of the Second International, short paragraphs or passages rich in profound philosophic thought, which illuminate the whole world outlook of a revolutionary, little sparks which show that beneath the fragments of revolutionary utterance glows the fire of revolutionary thought.

A Revolutionary, I have asserted, has a greater need of truth than a professional philosopher. Lest I be accused of using the word truth in a double sense, I state emphatically that by truth I mean the ultimate truth, over which philosophers squabble, as well as the immediate truth, the familiar truth of common experience. Of what use is revolution if you are convinced that the world we see and feel through our sense is not real at all? What use is revolution if you believe that there is a Supreme Being, looking after the welfare of the world, that all wrongs would be righted by divine dispensation? Surely, the main basis of action of a revolutionary is that this world of oppression, suffering and rebellion, of the vital struggle against slaughter, hunger and war, ignorance and poverty, the struggle of Life against Death is ultimately real. It is this knowledge which gives the revolutionary his characteristic energy and vigour.

But apart from this, as a practical man, the revolutionary must have an intimate knowledge of truth in the ordinary sense, truth which is apparent to all. To illustrate: how often we come across comrades who refuse to see things as the world sees them? You ask a comrade to write a report on a strike and what you get is not a report of the strike, but a page from the Communist Manifesto! You ask him to submit a statement on the economic conditions of the peasants in a certain village, and he promptly hands over an analysis of the world crisis. Let such incorrigible Marxists turn to Lenin the

greatest Marxist of all times.

Always in his analysis of any problem or event, Lenin used the average man's approach. "Down with Imperialism," comes at the end and not the beginning of Lenin's thesis on Imperialism. An average worker in an Imperialist country does not see that Imperialism has anything to do with his daily wage. Therefore, to make him see our point of view, we must start with the Imperialist world as he knows it. So Lenin begins Imperialism with that aspect of Capitalism which has led to Imperialism, the concentration of Capital, an aspect with which the worker is already familiar. From this familiar premise, he proceeds to the tendency of Capitalism towards monopoly, and to show by ample reasoning, something which the worker had not seen before, that monopoly is inherent in the Capitalistic system, whatever the country, its methods of trade or form of Government. Then he proceeds to the separate and apparently unconnected aspects of Imperialism and relates them as necessary phases of Capitalism, using both pure and practical logic, quoting events of history and the opinion of friendly and hostile authorities. When you have studied the whole thesis you realise that without once losing thread of practical reality, without a single arbitrary step, you have grasped the theory, the ultimate reality of imperialism, shorn of all its apparent pretensions. This was Lenin's method in all his speeches and writings, for he wrote not for the academic, cynical, "nationalist" philosopher, but for the average, sincere student, workman or intellectual, revolutionary or backward. He wrote not only for the convinced revolutionaries, but for the ignorant, the dubious and the hostile as well. He wrote not only for the Party but also for the masses. Only a fool would say that Lenin's writings are spattered with jargons. Words become jargons when their authors use them in place and out of place, without realising their sense. You can write, using the most orthodox phrases of Marxism without ever becoming jargonistic if you do not talk through your hat, if you say simply, economically and yet explicitly what you feel you ought to say, as Lenin did.

Lenin was singularly free from stylist conventions, for he had no ambition to go down in history as an essayist. It is better, he said, to experience a revolution than to write about it. He wrote only to experience a revolution, and this one ambition in his life was amply fulfilled. Within his limited life he conceived, crowned with glory and left a heritage of a revolution which opened up a new era for mankind.

Lenin is no more. But let us not shed tears over his grave. We may lack his genius, but let us swear on this day of the anniversary of his death, at least to grow in ourselves the same intense and impatient longing to lead a revolution to triumph, the same frank, sincere and practical vision and expression and the same stubborn spirit which knew no defeat, and which was characteristic of Lenin.

A. Leninist.

182735
600 003

FAIZPUR CONFERENCE OF THE CONGRESS SOCIALIST, PARTY

The Third Annual Conference of the Congress Socialist Party was held at Faizpur from the 23rd to the 26th December 1936.

The Conference met under the shadow of growing war danger and Fascist onslaught abroad, and intensified imperialist exploitation at home. The growth of Fascism and inter-Imperialist rivalries resulting in an unprecedented race in armaments has increased the menace of the world-wide conflagration in which India is bound to be involved. This danger coupled with the rapidly growing resistence of the Indian masses to Imperialist oppression has obliged British Imperialism to tighten its hold over India by the forced imposition of a constitution which shall set up a new dictatorship in which the reactionary feudal classes of India, the Princes and the big landlords, shall be the junior partners of Imperialism. This Imperialist attack is increasing the opposition and hostility of the Indian masses to the system of colonial slavery. Pressure from below has obliged the leadership of the Indian National Congress to commit itself to a policy of wrecking the new Constitution. The peasant movement is growing in every part of the country and the peasantry is coming forth with militant anti-Imperialist slogans. The militant working-class organisations are not only actively participating in every anti-Imperialist struggle but are also pushing forward the demands for a powerful United Front against Imperialism. The general anti-Imperialist consciousness of the masses is rapidly developing. Both inside and outside the Congress, the process of radicalisation is growing apace, and the Left forces are gaining in strength and popular support. The influence of the Rightist leadership of the Congress is definitely declining, while the mass response to the Socialist lead is growing.

Against this political background the Congress Socialist Party met to decide the line and programme of action for the next year. The Conference met thrice in private Session to consider the Political Thesis and the Resolutions, and twice in the Open Session. Comrade Jai Prakash presided, and about 150 delegates were present. The first item to be considered in the Private Session was the Political Thesis. Jai Parkash introducing the Thesis, said that it did not attempt to lay down a new line. It was a continuation of the past line, but it embodied the experience and lessons drawn from the work of the past one year and kept in view the new developments in the anti-Imperialist struggle. The main consideration of the Thesis was the approach of the Socialist Party to the Indian National Congress. It was felt that the Congress policy was not strong enough to deal with the united forces of Imperialism. Therefore the C.S,P. was formed to provide an alternative policy and leadership. The task of the Socialists was not to capture the Congress but to transform it into an anti-Imperialist body. He said that the suggestions for accomplishing this were three, namely, (1) work inside the Congress (2) work outside the Congress (3) A United Front of all the anti-Imperialist forces. The main work inside the Congress was to extend the Congress organisation and to make the lower committees of the Congress really living organs. Outside the Congress

peasant and workers organisations and Youth associations should be developed. The middle classes should be organised in their own asssociations such as Rate Payers Associations, Shop Assistants Associations, etc. Agitation should be carried on for the collective affiliation of these organisations to the Congress, A United anti-Imperialist Front composed of all those groups and individuals who are genuinely anti-Imperialist should be formed. Until all the anti-Imperialist groups merge into one party or one organisation a working agreement should be reached on immediate tasks and policy.

Political Thesis.

The Thesis considered that "the chief task facing us and all other Anti-Imperialists is the creation of a powerful National Front against Imperialism. It is necessary that the struggle against Imperialism should now be "widened integrated and raised to a higher stage of intensity." "The main organised expressionof Anti-Imperialist movement has been the Indian National Congress. But as is evident, it has not yet become an adequately consistent and effective anti-Imperialist force. It does not yet embrace the broadest possible section of the masses, whether organised or unorganised and still stands aloof from their day to day struggle for the satisfaction of their pressing immediate needs." In the attempt to form a mighty front against Imperialism the Congress must be taken as the basis and the starting point.

With regard to work within the Congress the thesis considered that " The Meerut Thesis conceives of the task in too narrow a manner. Our task within the Congress is not only to wean away the anti-Imperialist elements from the bourgeois leadership, but also to develop and broaden the Congress as to transform it into a powerful anti-Imperialist front. The Problem is not only one of change of leadership. It requires a complete re-organisation of the Congress - building of the Congress from the bottom upwards. Therefore, we should work for the democratization of its constitution so as to give more initiative, power to the primary members and the lower committees."

"As for the programme of the Congress, we should so shape it that it comes actively to develop the struggle of the masses taking their immediate demands as a basis. The formation of peasants' and workers' unions and active support to the struggle conducted by them should be kept in the forefront of this programme......we should endeavour to provide the Congress Committees with a programme of day to day work among the masses.'

Regarding the work outside the Congress the thesis observed "The anti-Imperialist struggle cannot be separated from the day-to-day struggle of the masses...Therefore, our foremost task outside the Congress is to develop independent organisations of the peasants and workers, and of other exploited sections of the people...These organisations, while functioning independently and carrying on their programme, should be linked up with the Congress Committees and there should be joint action as often as possible. This should ultimately lead to the masses mobilised in these organisations entering the Congress through collective representation."

The thesis further emphasised the need for consolidating the socialist and left forces in the country. Till such unity is arrived at the minimum that is necessary is agreement on the immediate tasks and line of action.

with regard to the leadership of the anti-Imperialist struggle the thesis maintained that the Meerut Thesis declared that we have to bring the anti-Imperialist movement under the leadership of revolutionary socialism. It is necessary to further elucidate this. The anti-Imperialist struggle in India is a multi-class struggle of the peasantry, the working class and the

middle class. The working class though organisationally weak is the most consistently revolutionary class. the struggle of the Indian masses for freedom will not reach its objective unless the working class is in the vanguard of that struggle and gives it direction and energy. Therefore, it is our task as Socialists to see that it assumes this historic role in the national movement. The leadership of revolutionary socialism cannot be conceived of anything independent of this.

Resolutions

The Conference passed resolutions on the war Danger, Socialism and National Independence, the New Constitution and the Elections, General Strike on April 1st., Boycott of coronation, B. N. Railway strike and Greeting to M. N. Roy.

The resolution on war danger emphasised that the struggle of the Indian people for Independence is a part of the basic and world-wide conflict between the forces of Imperialism and Fascism on the one side, and millions of colonial peoples, the working masses of the Imperialist States and the Free peoples of the workers' Fatherland on the other. The Resolution declared the solidarity of the Indian people with the enslaved peoples of the world and with the free peoples of the U. S. S. R. It condemned the armed offensive of Fascism against the forces of progress and democracy, and the desire of Imperialist powers to destroy the only workers' state. The Resolution appealed to the Congress to prepare the people for resistance to the next war and to issue the call to refuse to volunteer or serve in the war, to make financial contributions or subscribe to warloans. It further stated that the Indian people must now prepare to utilise the war for securing their freedom and for striking a blow for peace and progress.

The resolution on Socialism and National Independence declared that though the immediate objective of the mass struggle in India is the achievement of complete National Independence the chronic crises of Capitalism, the growing pauperisation of the workers and peasants and middle classes who must play a part in the struggle, and lastly the role of the Indian Big Business, is bound to make the national revolution have a socialist orientation and colour.

The resolution on the Constitution and the Election declared that Revolutionary Parliamentarianism is an integral part of the struggle for national freedom. It further declared that the Conference deplored the action of Parliamentary Committee in several Provinces in refusing Candidatures to some Socialists and Trade Union and peasant workers, and adopting such persons as were not noted for work or sacrifice in the National Movement. The Conference held that the election campaign should be utilised by the members of the Socialist Party to get into touch with the large masses of the people.

The resolution on General Strike on 1st April condemned the new Constitution and declared that "On 1st April let India see its peasants, its workers and its middle classes join hands to proclaim to the world its decisions to end this new instrument of Imperialism."

The resolution on B. N. R. workers expressed the soliderity of the Conference with the workers who are on strike.

The Resolution on the Boycott of the Coronation stated that as the Conference is pledged to complete Independence involving separation from the British Empire, it appealed to the Nation to boycott the Coronation and all other functions connected with the King's visit.

The Conference passed a resolution of greetings to M. N. Roy which read: "The conference sends its greetings to Comrade M. N. Roy on his release after his long incarceration and cordi-

ally welcomes him back to the struggle for freedom."

In the course of the discussion on the thesis and the resolutions in the private session, the role of the working class in the anti-Imperialist struggle attracted a good deal of attention. On the whole there was little opposition to the point of view embodied in the Thesis that the working class would play the leading role in the struggle.

The resolution of greetings to Roy raised same controversy as some of the delegates considered that a resolution of this nature was wrong and uncalled for in view of the fact that Roy had unequivocally declared himself to be against the existence of the Congress Sosialist Party, and was for all practical purposes lending his support to the Right-wing leadership of the Congress. It was also proposed that the Conference should incorporate in the General Report the expression of its regret at the fact that Roy without understanding the present Indian conditions had made certain statements which were injurious to the Socialist Party. The charges levelled against Roy were opposed by same delegates on the ground that Roy was being misrepresented. The opposition to the Resolution of greetings was eventually withdrawn after the present political line of Roy had been thoroughly discussed.

The majority of the amendments proposed by the Left were accepted by Jai Prakash, and therefore no acute controversy could develop on any important issue. The Right-wing in the Conference could not put up a tough opposition to the amendments from the Left mainly because the President was sympathetic to most of the amendments. Though fretting and impatient the Rightist elements were kept from raising a strong opposition by the personal influence of Jai Prakash.

The Speech of the President in the Open Session

The following are some of the important points raised by the president in his speech :

The two most vital questions facing us today are the questions of bread and employment. These questions affect not only the peasants and the industrial labourers but hundreds and thousands of middle class and lower middle class young men who are out of Colleges and Universities.

Socialism does not mean a handful of intellectuals who play with words but is a solution of these insistent questions of poverty and hunger. Socialism means the end of all exploitation. Our country differs from certain other countries in the fact that it is not a free country. We are in the grip of Imperialism, and in order to be free we must end Imperialism.

We want freedom not merely because of considerations of self-respect, or for securing equal treatment with Europeans in public services, but because we want to solve the two vital issues before our country which are poverty and hunger.

Our task is to win freedom.

The Congress has not been able to get Swaraj with its programme of boycott of foreign cloth, Swadeshi, non-violence, civil disobedience, etc. To face our strong enemy hundreds and thousands of persons are not enough; we must muster in millions. But who are the millions who will come? Not the landlords, or those who are afraid of losing something, but the masses.

With the deterioration in the economic conditions of the peasants the movement of the peasantry is growing.

We cannot seperate the fight for freedom, from the demands for the redress of day to day grievances.

The Congress is the biggest political party we have to consider, specially when we are thinking of our policy. We must try to unite the Congress with the peasant forces by pressing on

the primary voters and the primary committees of the Congress to work with the peasant organisations.

In the past we went to jails because we had mistaken ideas of sacrifices. While we were in prison we left the questions of policy to be decided by our leaders whom we accredited with supernatural powers, but today we act differently. Today we know that we have a programme and that we are on the right path, and that we can also assert that freedom is not the dream of a distant future but a matter of a few years.

It is not we only who have changed but world as a whole is different. It is wrong to think of India as an exceptional country with its unique problems of untouchability etc. To-day the world is clearly being divided into camps: on the one side the forces of Imperialism and on the other, the peasants workers and all other anti-Imperialists. Then there is Soviet Russia, which is the stronghold of Socialism and therefore the strength of the peasants and workers of the world.

In spite of the fact that the Congress contains so many diverse groups there is great possibility of uniting all the anti-Imperialist sections on the basis of the daily problems of hunger and poverty. We do not say that we should oppose the Congress, but simply that by our influence we should radicalise the Congress programme.

We should work for the collective affiliation to the Congress of all those organisations which are a part of the anti-Imperialist movement.

Then there is the question of council elections. We realise that in a subject country like ours, the persons who will be elected to the legislatures will not be the real representatives. But we contest the elections because we feel that we must give battle to the enemy at every point. We as socialists must clearly understand that we enter the councils not in the hope of bettering the existing laws. There are several Congressmen whose sole aim is to win the elections at any cost. We must explain to the voters their grievances and their demands. The new Constitution makes no provision for these demands and therefore the voters must be made to feel the need of opposing it.

The Constituent Assembly Should be our Main Demand.

We oppose office acceptance because by accepting ministries we shall become a part and parcel of the Imperialist machinery.

A charge has been levelled against us that we are confusing the issue of National Freedom by the talk of Socialism. But it is only with the Socialist approach and carrying on the struggle against the exploiters for the day to day economic and political grievances of the masses that we shall be able to raise their anti-Imperialist consciousness to a higher level and bring them into the struggle for National emancipation.

We know that in the great war at least six different countries won their freedom. Yet In India we did nothing. On the other hand, several of our leaders co-operated with the British Imperialists. Now the second world-war is imminent. We must declare unequivocally that we shall oppose it and shall not give a penny as war loan or voluntary subscription, and not a man as a volunteer. It is now that we must prepare to oppose this war and to strengthen ourselves. The real meaning of revolutionary struggle is two fold, namely strengthening your own forces and undermining those of our opponents. We must prepare ourselves to do both.

Evaluation of the Conference.

Ideologically the Faizpur Conference of the Congress Socialist Party marks a big step forward. The political Thesis not only defines with greater clarity

the task of the C. S. P. in the Anti-Imperialist struggle but also recognises that the working class will play the leading role in the struggle. This is a great advance on Meerut where it was held that the anti-Imperialist movement will be led by "Revolutionary Socialism." Moreover, the Faizpur Conference has decided to broaden the base of the Socialist Party and to make it a much wider organisation than was contemplated by the decisions taken at Meerut. This change was essential in order to make the C. S. P. an effective organisation for weaning away the Congress masses from the present Right-wing leadership. The need for the formation of a united anti-Imperialist Front was also more emphatically formulated in the Theses. The war danger resolution gave a correct lead on the question. These were undoubtedly some of the achievements of the Faizpur Conference. But at the same time it must be noted that some of the basic problems were either not considered at all or received scant attention, while those which were considered were persented in an abstract manner without being connected with practical directives and lead. The problem of the United Front, for example, found a prominent place in the theses but it was neither discussed in Private nor in Open Session. How the United Front organisations are to develop, what forms they will take, what their specific tasks, will be, were questions which needed a great deal of elucidation but they were left vague and undiscussed. The importance of the United Front question demanded a seperate resolution on it but no such resolution was brought before the Conference. Here it must be realised that the Rightist elements in the C. S. P. leadership are indifferent, if not openly hostile, to the formation of United Front organisations. They approach the problem not from the point of view of the need and urgency of building up such organisations ; their main consideration is to stop those United Front organisations from coming into existence and which may act indepently of the Congress machinery and may therefore in some measure function as rival bodies to the Congress Committees. It would not be out of place to point out here that a private conference composed of the representatives of the A.I.T.U.C., Kisan Sangh, C.S.P., Labour Party, Students' Federation, which discussed the proposal for the formation of United Front Committee for conducting the General Strike on April 1st, resulted in a fiasco because the majority of the C.S.P. representatives opposed the formation of such committees wherever the Congress Committees were not willing to join them. Moreover, the Right wing C.S.P. leaders took an attitude of complete indifference to the United Front Rally which was not called.

The Left elements in the C.S.P. no doubt stand definitely for the formation of a genuine anti-Imperialist United Front, and it would have been one of the biggest achievements of Faizpur if this element, instead of vaguely hoping for a United Front, had given a bold lead in bringing together on this issue as many anti-Imperialist organisations as possible, in order to make a start in giving a concrete shape to the United Front line. Unfortunately the left C. S. P. leadership remained vacillating and allowed the Right to have its own way.

In this conference there was no review of the Peasant and working class movements except that embodied in the Secretary's Report, which was extremely meagre; nor were any organisational questions relating to these movements raised and discussed.

The nature of the work to be done inside the Congress remained vague and abstract. The problem of revitalising the primary Congress organisations in order to transform them into effective insrtuments of struggle was not discussed at all. Nor was there any

discussion on the question of broadening the base of the C. S. P.

Generally speaking very little lead was given to the organisational side of the work. This was one of the most glaring weakness of the Faizpur Conference and was the expression of the fact that although the left element in the C. S. P. is growing it is yet neither fully conscious of its tasks nor strong enough to control and direct the policy of the Party.

The C. S. P. and the Congress Session.

This year the C. S. P. increased its strength very considerably in the A.I.C.C. whereas last year there were only seven members of the C.S.P. in the A.I.C.C. this year there were about forty, In spite of this, the opposition put up by the C.S.P. to the Right wing leadership of the Congress was hardly more effective than what it was at Lucknow. The opposition was not only the same and vacillating but also failed to bring to the fore some of the most vital questions and to expose fully the manoeuvres of the Congress Right.

The main struggle between the Right and the Left in the Congress Centred round the question of office acceptance. Although the Socialist speakers denounced the postponement of decision on this question they did not fully relate the anti-ministry issue and the elections with the struggle for developing the anti-Imperialist consciousness of the masses, and converting the election campaign into anti-Imperialist rallies and demonstrations.

Then, again, the Socialists should have pressed for concretising the vague and meaningless agrarian programme passed by the Congress. But with the exception of an amendment demanding the abolition of the Zamindari system, which too was eventually withdrawn, the entire Left bloc in the A.I.C.C. kept silent on the Agrarian Resolution.

The Socialists should have put up a tough opposition to the attitude of the Right wing Congressmen who, this year again, opposed the inclusion of Indian States in the Congress Resolutions, but here again the Socialists took a weak and compromising attitude.

No insistence was shown by the Socialists to secure a better functioning of the Mass Contact Committee.

No speech was made denouncing clearly the Parliamentary Board and the manner in which it had selected Congress candidates all over the country.

M. N. Roy's speech, which was a distinct attack on the Left, could have been replied to in the open session of the Congress, but this was not done by any Socialist speaker.

On the question of the Convention, the Socialists remained satisfied after Sampuranand's amendment that the A. I. C. C. should lay down the policy for the Convention, had been incorporated in the original resolution. It was necessary to expose the real nature of this Convention, to show that it will not only strengthen the constitutional elements inside the Congress and become an effective instrument in the hands of the Right-wing Congress leadership to counteract the growing influence of the Left but will also become a precedence which will enable all the Reformist sections of the Congress to delude the masses by confusing and obscuring the need for militant mass struggle.

The Socialists should have sponsored a resolution on the United Front in the Subject Committee of the Congress, but neither was any such resolution moved nor did any Socialist speaker formulate the need for the building up of United Front Committees.

The question of collective affiliation of peasants' and workers' organisations to the Congress was not raised at all; everything was left for the Mass Contact Committee to decide.

Most of the resolutions needed

elucidation both in the Supjects Committee and the Open Session cf the Congress but on several important resolutions the Socialists did not speak at all.

On the whole the Socialists as well as other Left elements in the A. I. C. C. played a passive and ineffective role and inspite of their number not only failed to present a powerful challange to the Right Wing Congress leadership but allowed the latter to carry everything before them easily.

Task Ahead

As stated above, ideologically the Faizpur Conference of the C. S. P. marks a big step forward. It is not necessary that the political line embodied in the Faizpur Theses should be given a concrete shape. On the basis of the Theses the C. S. P. should be developed into a strong mass party to include large sections of those masses which are at present under the influence of the Right wing Congress leadership. A programme of action to give effect to the line formulated at Faizpur should be drawn up. For this it is imperative that District and provincial Conferences of the C. S. P. should be immediately called to take stock of the present political situation and to frame a detailed programme of work both inside and outside the Congress. The nature and method of work to be done in primary Congress Committees should be elaborated. The programme and policy of the C. S. P. members inside the Legislatures should also be concretised and ways and means devised to obstruct the Right-wing Congressmen from imposing on the Congress a policy of cooperation with Imperialism by accepting ministries or a policy of mere constitutional opposition. But the main task which faces the C. S. P. and all other Left elements in the country is the building up of United Front organisations. The provincial Conferences must place this task in the forefront of their programme. The Left wing of the C. S. P. must in this respect give a bolder and more conscious lead. They must not only take the initiative in the building of these organisations but must in every way counteract the influence of the Right wingers who may be hostile or indifferent to the formation of such organisations. The United Front organisations must be brought into existence at any cost; preferably in cooperation with Congress Committees but if the latter refuse to cooperate, then independently of them. To wait till the Congress Committees show their willingness to co-operate is not only wrong but also impractical. It would be only through the militant day to day struggle carried on by the United Front Committees that would make it possible to win the support and active cooperation of the best elements of the Congress rank and file.

The stage has come when all the gueuine Anti-Imperialist elements in the C. S. P. should fully realise the heavy responsibility which lies on them. The Imperialist onslaught is increasing; the Imperialist attack is being specially directed against the growing peasant and working class movements. The class issues in the Anti-Imperialist struggle are getting increasingly clear. The old leadership of the Congress is faltering and is seeking pretences to hide its fear of mass movements and its desire to come to terms with Imperialism. If this leadership is to be overthrown, if the Anti-Imperialist movement is to be converted into a life and death struggle between all the exploited sectlons of society and Imperialism and its allies, if this struggle is to become a struggle for the conquest of Bread and Liberty for the peasants, workers, and other impoverished classes, the C.S.P., in co-oporation with all the genuinely Anti-Imperialist forces in the country must lay down and follow a programme of militant mass action against Imperialism and all those who stand between the masses and their complete economic and political emancipation.

Our Own Reporter

LAY MAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF LONDON LIFE

One day while I was taking may usual walk on the Hampstead Health one of the English boys that were passing by, on sighting me, humourously temarked "Abyssinia." Very much I enjoyed the joke, as like most of his Countrymen he could not distinguish between an Indian and an Abyssinian. Unfortunately it is a regrettahle fact rhat most of the Londoners know India as either a place of primitive people or a place of Maharajas despite the fact hundreds of Indian students have been living there spending considerable amount of country's money. The Indian news that gets prominence in English Journals is, that of the kind of magic—making by a yogi, or snake charming by a snake-charmer of cermonial marriage of two monkeys as our brothers are wont to do sometimes. It reminds me and I think it will not be out of place here, to tell you that we are better known in Germany as Hockey-players and elsewhere on the Continent as stateless people under the protection of Britain. One wonders who are responsible for such kinds of wrong informations abroad about the cultured and proud people of India. London is a City of many scientific conveniences where a bullock cart is a thing of imagination and the sight of Calcutta coolies dragging cartfull of loads on their shoulders with their perspired faces, not unmixed sometimes with tears, is a thing of slavery. On the roads rarely anybody stops and disappears either into a bus or underground. Everything is as if hurry and busy. Busy, that is London Life.

Sunday is a special feature by itself. That is a day of general relaxation. People get up late and attend to their duties late. Parks will be full of people of all sizes and purposes. Everybody looks full of joy and mirth. Where are we to go for the solitary sauntings of the Indian Youth? That is the day also when politics creeps into the people's affairs. Speakers representing several faiths will be in wait to address you in that day. Reader, if you want to attend a Communist meeting it is not unoften you find yourself in a Protestant, catholic, or a Black Shirt meeting-sometimes all the speakers addressing you simultaneously. You don't know whom to hear unless you go determined to hear a particular one only. The Socialist speaker condemns the Black Shirt who is perchance not even half a dozen yards away condemning the first. Whenever you are put in such funny position what you should do, and I did, is, to spend a couple of minutes before every speaker and laugh at the Black Shirt when he says 'Colonies are ours' and laugh also at the Protestant preacher when he says ,By the coming of Jesus into this world, the whole world is benefited.' This way you can have good many laughs that cost you nought. Heckling is the main part of the meeting and generally the speakers are hard trained to it. It must be said to the credit of Britain that in these days when everybody likes, to shut the mouth of every other freedom of speech exists in Britain to such an extent unknown in other climes.

Adventure or thrill, there is none in London. The only adventure is to escape from falling under a tube or tram and the only thrill is either King's Jubilee or King's funeral. Some-

times you come across an innocent girl who tells you with the countenance of courage how when she was a kid she used to get into a shop alone and buy what she wanted. That is her adventure and thrill for life. Most of the Londoners die without ever seeing a snake, excepting in Zoo or being bitten by a scorpion.

Their acquaintances are few. Their manners are fascinating and polite. One interesting feature about Englishmen is whenever two persons are introduced they don't talk like us about elections or somebody's character or career. They talk about the most uncertain weather they always experience. In one hour it is not difficult to find hail, rain. sun and slete.

Their love to animal life is second to none. Cats and dogs are their pet animals. Dog is an animal that does not bite, though strange might it sound to you if you come from a village in our country where dogs are the first to bark and welcome and bite and bid good-bye any stranger into the village, not to speak of a guady mendicant. Seeing pictures is the popular pastime. Theatres with their convenient cushion seats fixed with ash trays and binoculars at once display how the mind there strives to supply the customor with all conveniences that mind and money allow. Atmosphere of equality prevails in the theatre. From an old lady of eighty to a child of eight all most all people go there to wither away their weary hours. There they clap when the hero saves the heroine and burst into a laughter where there is a wit. But invain we seek for individual irruptions as sometimes we find from an exuberant fellow in our theatres.

Poverty prevails there but not to such a shocking extent as is known in our land. In a corner of the street the lonely beggar stands silently showing to the passers by the emptiness of his hat. Sometimes he appeals to you, not with his tongue, but with the tongues of a compatible musical instrument, perhaps the only thing his father left him. He neither follows you, nor like some of our haughty beggars frightens your children. To and from his home (if any) he walks his way picking that glitters on the ground hoping it to be a crown but finding it but a cigarette paper he leaves it behind and goes on his journey to pick up just a few yards away the same chagrin.

Life there with its limited friends and full of formalities is serious for us Indians, but for one perpetual joke that comes to our relief. That is about no less an office than India Office because it is neither Indian as most of its personnel is non-Indian, nor is it an office, as instead of facilitation of business, it is a perturbation to Indians.

Raju.

THE STRUGGLE BEFORE THE RAILWAY WORKERS

[The following article on the grim plight of the Railway workers in India, in the face of the policy of increased exploitation, retrenchment, wage-cuts, demotions and victimisation of Trade Unionists, which has been adopted and is being steadily persued by the Railway Board and Railway Administrations all over India, will be found of interest to our readers in view of the great strike which is now in progress over the B. N. Ry, system. This strike was declared on December 13th 1936. Some idea of the spirit and solidarity of the workers in waging a determined struggle to end further exploitation and starvation may be gauged by the fact that by the 17th of December no less than 40,000 men had joined the strike, while today the number of men affected is believed to be in the neighbourhood of 60,000! The entire system is affected, and the workers are in no mood, after a month and a half of privation and untold suffering, to compromise the issue and accept any terms that fall short of their minimum, just, and clearly stated demands.

This same strike affords a very clear illustration of the conciliatory and prostrate attitude of the reformist right leadership, to which this article refers, and the inability of the left-wing to forge a militant leadership. The spontaneous action of the workers has placed these leaders in the awkward position in which they have no other alternative but to lead the struggle, But they are already seeking venues for a "peaceful" and "honourable" settlement and have started negotiations with the Government, the Railway Board and the Agent. The Secretary of the Kharagpur branch of the B. N. R. Indian Labour Union went so far to abuse his privileged position as to issue an appeal to the workers to end their struggle and resume work while even these humiliating negotiations were up in the air, and thereby attempted to commit the workers to a policy of object surrender and compromise!

Again, the real solution of the problem, as this article points out, lies in forging a militant leadership in all the Railway Unions, the declaring of strikes over all the other systems simultaneously, (for the misery of railway workers is no less acute in other parts of India), and thus linking up the whole struggle in one gigantic General Strike all over the country. The B. N. Railway Strike was called off on the 10th of this month.]

The Struggle before the Railway Workers.

Three features dominate the present stage of the struggle of Railway Workers in India and hence determine its immediate tasks. The first is the renewal of the general offensive of the Railway Board on the standard of life of the workers against the background of a far greater suppression of the civil liberties of the people than at the time of the great offensive of 1931, The second is that though there are unmistakable signs of a growing militancy among workers, mass resistance to the employer's attacks has reached the lowest level on record. The third is that the reformist policy of the domi-

OWNED BY ITS POLICYHOLDERS

:(o):

The **INDIAN MUTUAL** is a Policyholders' Institution. The Policyholders' interest is the sole and the paramount interest in the working of the concern.

Found on ideal lines ten years ago under an experienced management and public-spirited Directors, the Association is growing stronger every day. Its progress has been phenomenal. Its constitution, methods of working and judicious husbanding of resources have attracted the attention of all thoughtful insurers. Join us to-day either as a member or as a representative. The Directors are Sir V. RAMESAM, Rao Bahadur K. BALARAMA IYER, Dewan Bahadur A. V. RAMALINGA IYER & others.

INDIAN MUTUAL

LIFE ASSOCIATION LTD.

TRIPLICANE, MADRAS.

RALPH FOX IS DEAD.

We regret to announce the sad news of the death, on the Spanish sector of the world-wide battle-front, of the brilliant writer comrade Ralph Fox.

Not so long ago there passed away from our view the brilliant star on the French horizon, the great intellectual and upright fighter, Henri Barbusse ; and following him the tireless genius and beloved guide of the toiling millions, Maxim Gorki. The death of Ralph Fox removes from these ranks another of that galaxy of Honest Intellectuals who in Marx's words: "Have understood the historical movement as a whole." And once they have grasped the fact of the continuous class struggle in human history, between the handful of exploiters and the millions upon millions of toiling, suffering humanity, these great intellectuals, have shed their precious life to hasten the victory of the toilers of the world.

In dying by a fascist bullet, as a front-rank fighter in the glorious struggle of the great and heroic Spanish people, Ralph Fox bequeathes to all —the tens of millions of toilers, the honour of continuing to fight with unprecedented valour and persistence against the international class enemy, against the fascists and imperialists.

nant A. I. R. F. leadership, a policy of surrender and betrayal of working class interests, continue unchecked owing to the complete failure of the left wing to shoulder the responsibilities assigned to it by history.

The "explanation" offered by the Railway Board in "Justification" of the decision taken by it early this year to axe 4000 more workers and to reduce the scales of pay of tens of thousands of others can be understood only as a specimen of "colonial economic theory." For though it is true that the Indian Railways have not been paying as well during the years of the crises as formerly, it is an absolute imperialist falsehood to say that they have been losing during the period. For some mysterious reason Indian Railways are said "to pay" only when in addition to paying the holy and unalterable interest charges on the Capital invested in them (which amount it is a blasphemy to call profits) they leave a surplus for the general revenue. Moreover, even when they "lose" (which only means that they make a profit less than the amount of the said interest charges) it is not the bond-holders, i.e., virtual owners, who lose anything, but the poor tax payer who is by law required to make up the difference between the actual profit earned and the amount of the stipulated interest charges. The Indian Railways are thus a capitalist concern that is immune even from the normal risks of capitalist enterprise. The law lays down that their owners must invariably have their pound of flesh, and if the railway worker cannot provide as much, the tax payer must supply the balance.

However, if we follow the only recognised method of calculating profit, i.e. deduct the working expenses including depreciation from the gross income, we find that between 1930 and 1935, *a period during which according to the Railway Board the Railways were "losing"*, they made a profit of over 125 crores of rupees:. Even in the worst year of the depression, i.e., 1932, they yielded a net income of of 2·9% on the capital invested in them. Again, if we calculate, for the year 1934-35, the ratio of the cost of the non-gazetted staff to the net receipts of the A class Railways, (which includes all the important ones) which gives us the nearest approximation to the rate of surplus-value and therefore to the true rate of exploitation, we find that it amounts to as high as 84%- And that was an "unprofitable" year in which over and above the net receipts the railway owners received a donation of nearly 5½ crores from the general revenues. Imperialist conceptions of profit are rather puzzling!

All this however, is absolutely no consideration in the eyes of the Railway Board even to moderate its offensive of wholesale retrenchment, wagecuts, reduced wage scales, increasing intensification of work, and so on. The Board must insist that the Railways are running at a loss. The extraordinarily low standard of wages on Indian Railways is demonstrated by the fact that whereas the operating ratio (which means the ratio of working expenses to gross receipts) on the railways in many of the loading industrial countries of the world is higher than 80%, and in some, as high as 95%; in India, it has fluctuated for some years between 50 to 60%. But not satisfied even by such exploitation, the Rallway Board has ruthlessly gone forward with its retrenchment drive. Though the mileage of Indian Railways increased between 1929 and 1935 from 41½ thousand to 43 thousand, the workers employed decreased from 817 thousand to 701 thousand. There was some increase again in 1935, but the Railway Board, hastening to "correct" this extravagant tendency, soon proposes to throw out another 4066 men. The cost of staff (again of the A class railways) which stood above 39½ crores in 1929-30 was brought down, by 1934-35 to 35 crores. The recently

announced retrenchment and reduced wage scales are naturally meant to effect further "economies" in this "cost."

Even these eloquent statistics, however, convey but a poor idea of the living misery and sufferings of the workers. For the general evils of the starvation policy of the railway lords are multiplied a thousand-fold by the conditions of service under which workers have at present to drudge. When in addition to having a substantial portion of his wage rifled, a worker has his right to free passes, free quarters and periodical leave drastically curtailed, has to put up with a roaster that make mince-meat of his private and social life, has the minutest detail of every physical motion involved in the execution of his professional task "rationalised" by job analysis, and on top of it all, is subjected to every conceivable humiliation and injustice at the hands of a corrupt, capricious, and highhanded bureaucracy, his life can only be described as an interminable death. Indeed, it can be said without the least exaggeration that not a few railway workers today would look even on the prospect of death with a feeling of relief.

As has been pointed out at the outset, this huge economic offensive against the workers has been partly preceded and partly accompanied by a mightier attack on their rights as citizens. The working-class has been the picked victim of the iron heel of Imperialist repression. The basic class rights of workers, the rights to organise Trade Unions and to strike, have been virtually snatched from them under various subterfuges, and in the case of railway workers, because they belong to a "public utility service." Militant working-class organisations, both economic and political, have long since been brought under the ban. Strikes call forth all the "heavy artillery" of governmental supression. The rights of free speech, press and assembly lie buried under a mountain of laws. Arrests, convictions, deportations, internments, etc., have taken a heavy toll of Trade Union workers. Added to this "legal" suppression of working-class activity, are the innumerable methods of administrative suppression arising from the control of the worker's means of subsistence and conditions of service by the employers. Workers seeking to redress their grievances through the Unions are penalised for their "insolence." Trade Union organisers are harassed in a host of ways and have to live under the constant threat of victimisation. Office bearers of Unions are prosecuted as trespassers for entering railway premises in furtherance of Trade Union activity. Workers are forbidden to hold meetings in railway compounds. Their unions are not only not recognised by the authorities but on the contrary every means from the offer of improper temptations to intimidation is employed to weaken or shatter them. In a word, in the eyes of the railway bosses all working class activity is a heinous crime.

It was to a certain extent inevitable that such a political and economic onslaught should temporarily disorganise and weaken the working class ranks and give a set-back to mass action. The great strike wave on the railways reached its height in 1930. But as can be seen from the following figures, active resistence has since that time been generally on the wane, and reached the lowest recorded level in 1935.

Railway Strikes in India

Year	No. of Strikes	Workers involved	Working days lost
1931	8	14,118	47,993
1932	6	13,095	482,914
1933	3	11,947	53,189
1934	3	806	1,050
1935	1	141	398

It would, however, be a very grave mistake to conclude from the foregoing

table that retrenchment and wage cuts have so much crushed the spirit of workers that they have fatalistically resigned themselves to the "inevitable" and given up all thought of putting up a fight. Those who have been in close personal contact with the rank and file and have taken the trouble to dive below the appearance of things know the situation to be otherwise. The truth is that workers have a very shrewd appreciation of the fact that the easy conditions under which they built up their organisations and developed their struggles in earlier times are things of the past; that sporadic and isolated action arising from some momentary excitement is of no avail in the existing conditions; that only a trained and centralised leadership can in future give the workers' counter-offensive a sufficiently extensive and acute form, to make it effective. It is due to the absence of such leadership that the mass struggle on the railways has not been making a headway, and not due to any fault of the workers. The growing restlessnes and spirit of revolt in the rank and file is evidenced by the fact that already two strikes of some magnitude have taken place this year, and a third which has commenced on the B. N. Ry. promises to be one of the greatest in the history of Indian Railways. There is no doubt therefore, that if a courageous, capable and militant leadership showed some signs of emerging, the workers would mobilise around it with tremendous fervour and launch a most determined and vigorous counter-attack for their economic and political demands.

When we come to the examination of the existing leadership, however, what do we find? The right wing of the A. I, R. F., with its monopolist control over that organisation, continues as ever to prostrate itself before the Railway authorities and spend all its energy in attacking the leftwing. When the Railway Board announced its decision to throw 4000 more men on the streets, the A. I. R. F. leaders, instead of declaring that they would resist this unending and brutal slaughter actually started discussions with the Board regarding the ways and means of retrenchment! That after six years of ceaseless retrenchment one should continue to parley with the railway authorities to "convince" them of the "undesirability" of such action can only be described as revolting; But as if even this were not enough, the A. I. R. F. leaders have once again approached the Government for the appointment of a Court of Enquiry and Board of Conciliation for investigating into the "dispute" between them and the Railway Board! The scandal of the Murphy Court of Enquiry which in the end Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and his friends were themselves compelled to attack in the bitterest terms is to be repeated in the year 1937; Together with this policy of continued surrender, the A. I. R. F. leaders have also been speaking vaguely and suggestively about direct action. Now and then they pass soulless resolutions appealing to the workers "to start preparations to keep themselves in readiness for ultimate measures," or some such thing. But they have absolutely no faith in direct action. They carry on no mass agitation for it, nor make any other serious preparations for it. On the contrary, they attack the left wing in the A. I. R. F. on various flimsy pretexts though in reality for its militant policy. The G. I. P. Railway Workers Union has been virtually excommunicated from the A. I. R. F. for a technical default of which there is hardly another union in the A. I. R. F. which has not been guilty at one time or another. Not only this, but in gross contravention of the fundamental principles of trade unionism and the avowed policy of the A. I. R. F., Mr. S. C. Joshi, one of the pillars of that organisation, has organised a rival Union on the G. I, P. and secured its affiliation to the A. I. R, F. with the help of the other members of

the reactionary group. Considering the present plight of railway workers, no language could be too strong to denounce the sabotaging line of action of the A. I. R. F. leadership.

If the treachery of the right leaders arises from the inherent rottenness of reformist ideology itself, the failure of the left wing arises from its grave deficiency in the theoretical level and organisational training required for mobilising and activising the masses under the existing conditions of political and economic terror, this incompetency is mainly exhibited in three things; firstly, in issuing appropriate slogans at the appropriate juncture so that workers at various stages of ideological consciousness and experience may march together to the common goal of direct action by paths suited to their respective groups and categories; secondly, in utilising even the most trifling complaint of every worker for exposing the whole fraud of the Railway Board offensive and thereby preparing him for direct struggle; and thirdly, in giving a courageous and capable leadership to mass struggles when they actually begin. The proper fulfilment of all these tasks, of course, further presumes the capacity to reach the Masses despite all official and administrative hindrances. No leadership that is not fully trained in the theory and practice of the militant working class struggle can shoulder this burden. Nor can such leadership arise spontaneously from the rank and file alone. It has to be consciously built up by persistent work in the rank and file. But in this task the left wing has so far failed completely.

Such are the objective and organisational conditions in which the workers have to beat back the offensive of the authorities and the Railway Kings. No one having any knowledge of the question, not even the A.I.R.F, right wing, now denies that the only effective weapon which can in future enable the workers to establish their right to existence—the basic right of humanity—is a country-wide direct action. There is absolutely no other way out of the situation. But how are we to work up to a general strike? The one slogan on the basis of which workers can be led to that end is that of unity and militant action. To start with, a raging agitation must be started on all lines for popularising this slogan. This must immediately be followed by local conference at all important railway centres where the local grievances would be linked up with the general issue and country-wide direct action demanded. The culminating step must be a genuine and live all-India Railway Workers' conference which must take the final steps necessary for the launching of the workers' counter-offensive.

It would be fatal to believe that the A.I.R.F. leadership will do anything to make such a conference a success. It will do everything it can to sabotage it. The fact is that it wants neither genuine class unity nor direct action. But it will have to be compelled by mass pressure either to accede to these demands or clear out of the way. It is the duty of the left wing to develop such mass pressure. Turn as one may, one returns to the same conclusion over and over again, viz., that the future development of the struggle of the railway workers depends on the left wing developing the capacity and the will, to lead the masses to higher forms of struggle and thus shatter the triple barricade of starvation, repression and reformist treachery.

S. V. G.

THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS DECIDES TO FIGHT

(A Trade Unionist)

NOTE:—[The decision of the Trade Union Congress (T. U. C.) to put up its own candidate in opposition to the Congress Paliamentary Board in the Byculla-parel constituency of Bombay has led to some confused thinking in certain quarters. The question is often raised, 'Is it or is it not a breach of the now generally accepted United Front line? This short article is an attempt to lay all the facts on the table, and to show that far from having any intention of giving up the United Front the Trade Unionists have adopted the course conforming to a real United front of all the Anti-Imperialist parties in the country.

It is evident that those who are inclined to view this action of the T. U. C. with disfavour, have not grasped the true significance and full meaning of the United Anti-Imperialist People's Front. The policy of a United Front could never be interpreted to mean the dissolution of people's existing organisations, or their capitulation, (as this article correctly points) out, to the Right Leadership of the Indian National Congress. A real United front can only mean the coming together of the various independent mass organisations on the basis of a common anti-Imperialist platform and programme. In the case of the Congress parliamentary Board setting up a candidate in flagrant opposition to the will and wishes of the working people, it does not mean submission by the workers to the dictum of the official Congress clique. One is both pained and surprised at the high handed and arrogant attitude of the Congress bosses. Their persistent pressure even led to the Congress president calling for an explanation from those members of the All India Congress Committee (A. I. C. C.) who are also loyal Trade Unionists, and who repliedthat if it came to chosing between the Congress and the Trade Union their devotion and loyalty to the cause of the workers would be found stronger than that for the Congress. We trust that this article will help to clear up the confusion and misunderstanding which has cropped up in the minds of those who stand for a United Front policy, and for wnich there is not the slightest justification.]

On the 25th of December, 1936, the All-India Trade Union Congress (A. I. T. U. C.) took a momentous decision the decision to contest the Assembly Seat from the Byculla-Parel constituency. For the first time in the history of Indian Legislatures, the working class decided to contest not from a reserved but from a general constituency. The Marxists the vanguard of the Proletariat played the eading role in this new orientation of the policy of the Trade Union Congress

The Royists and Rightist leaders of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) not to speak of the Congress leaders, condemn this policy as being against the United Front line. "This is not the United Front" declare those who have failed to understand the character of the Anti Imperialist People,s Front and how it is to be built up. No wonder the Marxists are being accused of being inconsistent.,

Have they, however, been inconsistent? Is their decision to contest the elections, a sudden 'leftist' move? Only those who have failed to understand the leading role of the proletariat in building up the anti-Imperialist Front can say so. Only those who are ignorant of the developments that led to this decision can blame them of inconsistency.

At the A. I. T. U. C. session held in Bombay in May 1936,it was decided that in those general constituencies where the working class constitutes a large section of the electorate, the T.U.C. should put up its candidate and request the Congress to support the T. U. nominees. As against this the Royists and Congress socialists wanted that in such constituencies the T. U. C. should request the Congress to adopt the Trade Union (T.U.) nominees as the Congress candidate. This resolution was turned down and Comrade Nimbkar was nominated by the T. U. C. as its nominee for the Byculla-Parel coustituency—a constituency where the working class constitutes nearly 40% of the electorate. The Lalbaug Parel area in Bombay has seen the birth of the organised militant Trade Union movement in India. In 1928, in 1929 and in the memorable General Strike of 1934, this area became the battle ground between the forces of Imperialism and the forces of the Proletariat. Taking into consideration these factors one must admit that the Marxist stand in the T. U. C. was perfectly correct.

The very wording of the two resolutions clearly show the sharp difference that exists between the marxists—and the ideologically and basicallypetty-bourgeois parties (inspite of their claims to be Marxists) on the all important national issue of United Front and how to build it up. While independent action by the proletariat on fronts, including the Parliamentary front is for the Marxists the most important lever for forging the United Front, for the Royists and some Congress Socialists the United Front of the working class with the Congress is *in practice* synonymous with surrendering the working class to the existing Right leadership of the Congress. The working class, according to these stalwarts of Marxism, is to confine its independent action to the economic sphere alone. In the political sphere it must act *through* the Congress, never independently of it and of course never in opposition to it, though it be, as they themselves admit, dominated by Right reactionaries.

The Congress High Command, however, refused to accept Comrade Nimbkar. It preferred Dr. Gilder, a gentleman who has never been a Congressman in his life, who was in the Bombay Legislative Council when the Congress had callod upon all Council members to resign. Arrogantly the Parliamentary Board rejected even the abject request of the T. U. C. to adopt its nominee.

What was to be done? "The policy of United Front is the transformation of the Congress into the People's Front. How can you fight the Congress candidate if you want to make the Congress the spearhead of the national revolution?" asked the Royists and the Socialists. "Therefore be content with expressing regret at this high-handed action of the Parliamentary Board." The Marxists refused to accept such an opportunist vulgarisation of the United Front line and called upon the T.U.C. to set up its own candidate.

These are facts. Anyone who cares to know them will realise the utterly unfounded character of the charge that the Morxists have been inconsistent. From the T.U.C. session in May this line was clearly defined—the line of independent political action by the proletariat. They never agreed to the capitulatory policy advocated by the Royists and the Socialists.

This does not mean for a moment that the Working Class renounces United Front with the Congress. On the contrary, as has been pointed out

by Comrade Nimbkar in his recent statement, it is the Parliamentary Board that is disrupting the United Front. By vindicating the Right of the Working Class to independent action, by independent political mobilisation of the working class, and by simultaneous support to the Congress in all other constituencies the Marxists are laying the soundest basis for the development of the United Front, a United Front where the working class plays a leading and not a subordinate role.

BRAVO! MUSLIM YOUTH!

[The All-India Conference of Students, which was originally called to form an All-India organisation of Moslem students as a rival body to the All-India Students' Federation, decided to-day against having any communal Moslem organisation. The conference further decided that all Moslem students should join the All-Inda Students' Federation.]

(News item from The Statesman, dated Jan. 18.)

Once upon a time two bulls roamed the wilds. One day a lion appeared on the scene and attacked them. The two bulls got together and met the lion's charge squarely in the face, tossing him up into the air from one to the other until the wretched lion cried out for mercy, and ran back into the forest for his dear life. Defeated in direct combat, the lion thought of a very clever plan for killing the bulls. He went to one of the bulls while the other was grazing some distance away, and started praising his great muscular strength and noble character. "Why do you let that other one bully you and take advantage of your gentle nature?" said the lion, "He does you out of all the best patches of sweet grass. Why do you put up with so much injustice? With your fine physique and sharp curved horns you could teach that insolent bovine a lesson he would never forget." The foolish bull listened and felt flattered. The two bulls soon quarrelled, and nearly gored each other to death. After that it did not take long for the lion to attack, kill and devour them both.

Is there any justification for repeating these ancient fables to-day? Yes, there is. For though most of us have already heard or read them, yet in our everyday life we do not profit by their simple teachings. Our ears are always open to the flattering words of selfish politicians and cunning communalists.

Wherever the people try to come together to unite and strengthen their active organisations for voicing their common grievances, for bettering their interests, for launching mass struggles there come the foxes and jackals the agents of Imperialism to preach sectarianism, to break the ranks, to disunite the people and disorganise them. And backed as they are with all the resources of organised authority, their efforts unfortunately meet with varying degrees of success.

Whether at the polls at election time, or at the schools and colleges; whether in the employment market or in the workmens' organisations, the socalled 'religious' sentiments of the people are exploited to the utmost to

bring about a rupture a permanent breach in the united ranks of the people. Our simple ignorant people have not yet profitted by the lessons of their struggle for the last twenty years.

It remained, however, for the Muslim Youth of India to brush aside these cobwebs of communalism and clear the way for a united front of the country's Youth. Not only have they cleared the way for themselves, but they have demonstrated by their laudable example how communalism can be effectively wiped out, and unity and solidarity achieved, in all the sectors of people's fronts. Theirs is an example which the Trade Unions, the peasants' Karza committees, the Kisan Sabhas, the Krishak samities, and all other peoples' mass organisations would do well to follow. It has already given a tremendous impetus in the right direction throughout the country.

When the All-India Students Federation was launched last year, the move was enthusiastically welcomed and widely supported by young men and students all over India. Its success was phenomenal. Branches were soon established in several centres and existing students' organisations eagerly sought affiliation. All this was far from pleasing to the powers that be. An All-India organisation entirely managed and controlled by the students themselves! No. This could never be allowed. What was to be done? So they tried the old old game.

The offensive was launched at Aligarh, where the authorities in obedience to the high command, went all round to set up and plant in muslim soil the nucleus of a highly reactionary communal organisation, on an All-India basis. But alas! the reactionaries and communalists had been counting their chickens before they were hatched, for the soil of Aligarh proved to be utterly barren. The attempt was a dismal failure. As every one knows the Muslim Youth of Aligarh vehemently denounced this suggestion as an insult to their sense of understanding, hononr and prestige. They made it quite plain that inspite of the inspired advice of their professors, they were intelligent enough to see through this game of the communalists and would have none of it. The instigators of the movement beat a hasty retreat, and the motion was thrown out by an overwhelming majority in the Students' Union.

Once bitten twice shy. But not so these Communalists. They are entirely devoid of any sense of shame. They next sought out another venue to fulfil the command of their masters this time at Lucknow. But even here the lead given by Aligarh was taken up and followed, and the Muslim Youth rallied to the cause of the united youth Front. At Lucknow their opposition to the communalist instigators was so manifest and well organised that several of the meetings arranged by the reactionary elements had to be postponed or cancelled in anticipation of defeat. Still the Communalists persisted and would not leave off without a good thrashing. They got it at last on the 17th. of January. Let us hope that they wont forget it in a hurry this time. But the country's Youth is alert now, and should they raise their heads again they will get the beating of their life.

The United Front of the country's Youth has been achieved and cemented by the brave and spirited action of the Muslim Youth. Let us take our hats off to them. Let all mass organisations follow their example. BRAVO! MUSLIM YOUTH!

NOTES AND NEWS

Spain.

The Spanish civil war continues to be the vital issue whose out-come will have a far-reaching effect on world politics. Madrid, at the time of writing, still holds out, though devastated by a daily rain of German and Italian bombs, bringing death and homelessness to thousands of women and children. The defence has been heroic, as we knew it wonld be, but it is unlikely that the government forces, superior though they be in numbers, will be able to hold out against the vastly superior armaments of the insurgents; there is no longer any attempt to deny the supply of arms to the latter by the Fascist powers. But the fall of Madrid will by no means be the end of the war; of that we can be quite certain. To secure victory, General Franco will have to slaughter one half of the population of Spian—a more ghastly bloodbath than history has ever witnessed—for Republicans, Socialists and Communists, indeed all those who are fighting for democracy and against reaction, will defend the last trench with their lives.

Non-Intervention.

Non-intervention has proved to be entirely unilateral and a cruel farce, as we expected; it has in effect acted as a blockade of the legal government of Spain. The Committee set up to examine and to enforce the pact, after allowing weeks of delay, during which arms poured into Spain for Franco, was called upon by Spain to investigate some breaches of the pact. Full and circumstantial evidence was offered to prove the allegations. After further delay the Committee decided to hear the evidence against Germany, Portugal and Italy. The result of their enquiry was that the committee was "unable to find that the charges were proved." They refused to accept as proved the case put forward by the Spanish Government and those fighting on its side, since such evidence they considered to be prejudiced! On the other hand when asked if they would not then themselves investigate the case, they replied that was not their business, but that it was for the Spanish Government to prove its case. In other words they would neither allow investigation nor accept the evidence of the complaining party. So little did they think it their duty to look into the charges or to discover the truth, that they allowed the accused countries, instead of answering the charges, to bring forward counter-charges. Finally, with an obvious sigh of relief, they dropped the whole matter, content merely to have a committee even if it was to do nothing. Non-intervention was dead before it started; its death has now been officially blessed by the British Government's pronouncement that in any case they never had any intention of enforcing the pact by patrolling the seas, as that might have led to war. Could anything be more futile or more encouraging to Fascist intervention? Naturally it only encourages Hitler to fling out his threats of war whenever there is a chance of anyone doing anything to thwart his aggressive aims. But not content with this. Mr. Eden, roundly 'informs us that in his opinion there are other States (i.e., the U. S. S. R.) who are more to blame than either Germany or Italy in the matter of intervention. This is a barefaced lie, and Eden knows it. Not only is it a misrepresentation of the legal situation, but also it is known that

Russia only threatened to send supplies to the Government of Spain if and when the Committee refused to take action to stop Fascist intervention; in other words Russia took the only honest course—refusal to countenance a unilateral blockade of the legal Spanish Government. In this matter the attitude of the British Government is very significant; the British influence (as previously in talks with the French) has been the leading factor in sabotaging help to the Spanish loyalists, and in enabling the fascists to send arms to General Franco.

British Foreign Policy.

Vacillations in British policy do not indicate lack of objective. On the contrary, the objective is clear, but there are certain difficulties to overcome in putting it into action. After the *disgrace* of Sir Samuel Hoare, Eden was acclaimed as a real staunch supporter of the League and collective security. He was chosen to play this part because he is the convinient, the "tailor's dummy", the symbol of perfidy in the eyes of all the small nations of Europe. From the very beginning his aim has been to sabotage collective security and at the same time to decieve the masses who believed in the League as a protection against aggressors. The conservatives have never believed in collective security except where they could use it to protect and further their own imperial interests—Manchuria, Abyssinia, the Rhineland coup etc., have all been eloquent witness of this fundamental ingredient of conservative policy. Eden's duty has been to put across the theory that collective security won't work, and he has used the betrayals of Manchuria and Abyssinia to try and show that it won't work, and unfortunately there is already a fairly large body of jingoists who are ready to believe this, and to blind themselves to the fact that the only reason why the League has failed is because it has never put into practice the idea of collective security owing to the sabotage of Britain. On the other hand, Eden is too cunning to think he can yet completely disregard the voice of those millions who voted in the Peace Ballot for League principles and collective security. Moreover the National Government desires to pile up armaments with a view to enforcing its imperial will to swell the profits of heavy industry, and the only excuse which it can use for the purpose of deceiving the people (and unfortunately also the Labour Party) into acquiescing in large armaments, is that they are necessary "if we are to fulfill our obligations to collective security." Consequently, though in practice collective security is dead, it cannot be altogether dropped as a phrase with which to deceive the people.

The Policy of Isolation.

What then is to take the place of collective security? Do the conservatives really aim at isolation from European or world affairs? The answer is most definitely "No"; isolation to the National Government is just as unreal a deception as collective security. Eden knows perfectly well (and has said so more than once) that in practically any war, certainly in any major war, there is no hope for Britain to keep out because her imperial interests are bound to be affected. Even if she was not dragged into the active fighting right at the beginning, she would have to take sides as a non-combatant ally and would eventually be drawn into the war. The mere fact that Britian is still one of the Big Powers with interests scattered all over the world makes it impossible for her to keep out. That is why armaments are necessary, if collective peace is abandoned. Isolation is a pure fantasy. Why then is it being preached, with increasing blatancy, by Eden and the National Government representatives? Simply because Eden does not yet dare to expose to the people of Britain the real aims of conservative policy - that is, support of Fascist Germany in her plans of ex-

pansion eastwards, and revisionism. Britain has abandoned collective security and in so doing abandons France, Russia, Central Europe and also perhaps the near East to Hitler's armies. This abandonment is not made in the expectation that Britain will be able to isolate herself from the coming struggle, but because Britain intends to lend all her aid, moral, material and military to Hitler Germany. This is the blunt and brutal truth that Eden does not as yet dare to divulge to the people of Britain. There is still a bitter antagonism to Hitlerism in the ranks of the British workers, but the Labour Party is doing its best to dissipate this by screaming about the "Red Menace" and accepting Hitler as the bulwark against communism. When Eden thinks he has successfully weaned the people away from collective security he will drop the slogan of isolation and come out in the open on the side of Hitler, against democracy, freedom and peace; at present he is feeding the people with the patent medicine of isolation in small doses.

German aims.

Hitler Germany is, of course, highly delighted at the way things are going. With a counning diplomacy that even Eden can not aspire to, German policy simultaneously follows and directs the current of international manoeuvring. The ultimate aims of German policy are fixed and unalterable; the immediate manoeuvres are dictated by expediency. The ultimate aim is world hegemony the German Racial Empire; its stages are (1) expansion against the small States and petty revision of Versailles "iniquities," (II) expansion against the U. S. S. R., (III) the final defeat of France and the removal of her military and industrial power, and (IV) to world hegemony after throttling what is by then left of the British Empire. The order of sequence is not fixed but will be determined at any given stage by the international situation. To accompany this grandiose scheme the Nazi politicians have drawn up a list of "tactics":—

(a) Division of the major European powers against one another, using Britian to paralyse France, and allying with Italy as a threat both to France and to Britian in the Mediterranean.

(b) Organization of Nazi parties in all countries to disrupt democratic Government the financing of them for terrorism (murder of Dollfuss), and spread of propaganda for allowing Germany a free hand against Russia.

(c) Anti-communist crusade to prepare the other capitalist countries for an attack on Russia.

(d) The use of the bluff of war. By increasing armaments and always threatening war (e. g., in the Spanish episode), Germany hopes to frighten the democratic counries on every occasion away from any active steps to preserve democracy, collective peace or to stop Fascist aggression.

(e) Localization of war. By playing on the fears of Britian and the small countries (e. g. Belgium, she hopes to drive them into a belief in isolation and the complete abandonment of a League policy.

(f) The western Peace Pact, with certain reservations, is used as a bribe; the *promise* of peace in the west for 22 years is offered in return for a free hand in the East.

Herr Ribbentrop's Crusade

It needs no saying to what extent Hitler has already succeeded in many of these tactical aims, or to what extent his daily manouvres fall in with the ultimate policy here outlined. His special and most trusted Nazy envoy, Herr Ribbentrop the man who above all knows how to diplomatically put across the Nazi line—has gone as Ambassador to London. His urbanity, his slick gentility, have made him at once the idol of the British upper classes; wherever he goes his picture appears in the papers with suitable phrases of

adulation. They are trying to make this Nazi propagandist the model of 'decent manhood" a man who comes, as Comrade Gallacher said with his hands smeared with the blood of German workers. what is the message that this paragon of humanity brings?

His massage is one of friendship and good will on condition that Britian will cooperate in putting into effect Hitler's six tactical points; on the other hand he carries the threat of war and the bogey of the Bolshevization of Eurŏpe. He comes to estrange Britian from France, to finish off the good work of killing collective security, to preach the anti-Russia crusade, to sabotage the Franco-Soviet pact, and to advertise the social and political virtues of Nazidom. And the tragedy of it is that he is able to make considerable headway in this propaganda for German expansion in the East and against France, just because this fits in exactly with what Eden is thinking. Ribbentrop even has the impudence (because he knows he is in favour) to dictate to Britain about her internal affairs and how to rule the working class and to deal with communism; he sets himself up as the Nazi instructor in all the arts of Nazi bestiality. When he objects to the speech of Gallacher in Parliament, Eden comes crawling to him with humble apologies, sincerely regretting that as yet even a communist is allowed free speech in England. And there are other Ribbentrops in other countries, all carrying on the good work. In France the Nazi representatives forced the French Government (by the usual bluff of war dangers) to prohibit communist speakers from speaking in Alsace, and when such a speech was made by M. Thorez, the German Government had the audacity to object officially; the same German Government forgets that Hitler's "Mein Kampf" contains the most open and violent threats against France. Of course, British government jumps at any atrocity story or malicious libel against Russia or communism, and, in its eagerness to use such propaganda, accepts the vile anti-semitic contents of Goebbels speech, its lying representation of affairs in Spain, and its rabid incitements aganist the U. S. S. R. In this way Hitler's tactical points are being carried out and through them the rapid advance to his ultimate aims. And in all this the British Government is, in an underhand and deceptive way, doing all it can to help, by paralysing France, by sabotaging collective peace, and by encouraging the free hand against Russia. To this policy there can be only one outcome--the eventual participation by Britain in the coming world war on the side of the Fascist aggressors.

Germany and Colonies.

In his "Mein Kampf" Hitler has clearly stated that Germany's problem will not be solved by the acquisition of an overseas empire, scattered, like that of British, all over the world. What, then, accounts for all this vociferous shouting for the return of Germany's stolen colonies, for room for the German peoples? The answer is plain:—

(a) It is necessary for Hitler to inspire the German people with a sense of grievance, to whip up their national passions against other more prosperous nations. For Nazism thrives on hatred.

(b) It is one of Hitler's trump cards in the game of bluff. When the demand for colonies is brought up, it is the British capitalists who first grow panicky; all the more so, since certain sections of the British Labour Party favour the restoration of colonies to Germany without consulting the desires of the colonial peoples. This makes the British vested interests, who draw their profits from the colonies, get the wind up; Consequently they make, through their mouth piece Eden, repreentations to Germany to the effect that this talk of restoring colonies is all very embarassing, especially as Britain knows of no small country she could

now force to cough up a colony without herself having to cough up something; all this is very embarassing; "so please, Hitler," they say, 'drop all this talk, and we will see if we cannot accommodate you in some other direction." Hitler immediately does so, as he never really wanted colonies of that description What he wants and intends to get is a vast Germanic Empire expanding rapidly east, southeast and south, in the first place, over-running Russia and Central Europe. His empire will not be a scattered one. bound by the seven seas, but a solid block of Germanic exploitation, with its vital hub resting in the Ruhr, in the offices of Thyssen and Krupp. Anyhow the bluff about colonies succeeds, and Ribbenstrop gets all the credit for having made Germany call off her colonies campaign. But what is it the British capitalists are giving in return for this empty victory? It is only too clear that it is a general assurance that Eden will gradually win over the British public for acceptance of Hitler's programme—the free hand in the East, the anti-Russia crusade, the isolation of France and the localization of war. This is the price that is being paid, and willingly paid because it coincides with the conservative policy of the National Government. That is why collective security is ceasing to become even a deception, why Eden is already openly talking of isolation, and why he will soon enter into the phase of open cooperation with Hitler's Germany for the march eastwards against Russia.

The Tactic of causing Disintegration.

History proceeds with a fatal and logical persistence. Manchuria led to the Abyssinian episode; Abyssinia in turn led to the Rhineland coup. Each step that Hitler takes to break existing treaties paves the way for the next step; each betrayal of collective security by Britain is a link in the casual chain that leads to world chaos. Hitler has already to a very large extent managed to break the League and by antagonizing Britain from France to cause the abandonment of collective security. That is why today he can play with Spain, importing Nazi arms to slay spainish workers. This farce of non-intervention is a vital link in the chain of Hitler's progress towards his final act of aggression. What is most important from his point of view is that it has once again revealed that Britain is complacent to all Nazi acts of aggression, and that though democracy and peace may yet be slogans by which Eden hopes to be able to deceive the people, these ideals in actual practice mean nothing to the British Government. But he has learnt another vital lesson from Spain —the techniqne of disintegration from within. Nazi parties in Austria, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere have always carried on with their respective countries a violent campaign of treachery to national interests, violence against the working class and the instigation of discord at the instance of the German Foreign office. But this civil war, which Hitler, together with Mussolini, planned launched and armed in spain, opens up new vistas for Nazi policy; it is the pattern to be copied in future in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. That is why Nazi pamphlets and propaganda are being poured out everywhere, why German consuls and ambasadors interfere in national affairs preaching the crusade against the working class, against socialism and the menace of communism; at the same time advertisement and financial aid is given to local fascist organisations, and the Governments of the countries are advised to follow the Nazi example as quickly as possible if they are to save themselves from the dire consequences of democracy.

The dual tactic of paralysing collective security by antagonizing the nations, and of simultaneously bringing about in all democratic and anti-

fascist countries a repetition of the spanish civil war, is conceived with devilish cunning and put into practice with real skill and urbane efficiency. We must judge for ourselves the extent to which this dual tactic is meeting with success and the extent to which Eden and the British Government, by encouraging its operation. are playing into the hands of Hitler' against the interests of peace, the interests of the masses and the future of democracy. Certainly one has only to read the German official press (and there is no other press) to realize that Hitler himself is jubilant at the success of his plans vis-a-vis the National Government, and that he now really believes he is rapidly approaching the time when he will be able to embark upon his major aims of aggression, not only in a world situation in which Britain is split from France and collective security dead. But even with the prospect of active British help in the crusade for the partition and dismemberment of Russia.

182735

Books You Cannot Miss !

WORLD DEPRESSION By K. T. SHAH, Pages 271. Price Rs 1-8-0.
A Book of international importance surveying the genisis and causes of the world depression and suggesting daring methods to economic recovery. No Student, or Professor or a politician can afford to remain without a copy of this work.

Prof. K. T. Shah is a well-known economist of international reputation and his latest work is an original contribution to the problem facing the world to-day.

IS IT A CRIME ? By H. D. RAJAH Pages 224. Price Re. 1
A social theme boldly conceived and splendidly portrayed. Mr. H. D. Rajah is well known as a public man and his work 'Is it a Crime?' has thrown light on many important baffling problems of our society and has given lead in solving them.

The Hindu Says:—"The Novel is indeed a clarion call to our reformers to sweep away the cob-webs of ages and to restore purity to our social system... Mr. Rajah has done a distinct service."

The Indian Express writes:—"The book is highly provocative of thought for those who have the welfare of society at heart. It is written in an easy and arresting style and deserves to be in the hands of all well-wishers of the nation and its forward march."

SPARKS FROM OUR LIFE By H. D. RAJAH, As 4.
In this small book, Mr. Rajah has given the best of life in the form of stories and interesting sketches. They are so true, that you will have a very interesting time of it when you go through them. Read and you will know what the book is !

EVOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS By U. C. GOPALAN, As. 4.
This book contains a short history of the Congress from its beginning up to the introduction of Montford reforms. Every student of history and politics ought to have a copy of the same.

LIFE OF DEVALERA (in Tamil) By BALAKUMAR, Price As. 6 only.
In this book, the life of De Valera, the great Irish Patriot who is now guiding the destinies of Ireland is given. It contains a graphic description of how Ireland fought for her freedom, the role Mr. De Valera played and the success Ireland achieved. It inspires you and sets you thinking. You cannot miss a copy.

THE

National Literature Publishing Co., Ltd.,

3, KONDI CHETTY STREET, MADRAS.

Registered No. M. 3099.

THE VANGUARD
INSURANCE COMPANY LTD.
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS.

(Motor, Fire, Life and General Insurances)

The Vanguard Insurance Company offers you all that is best in Insurance.

It provides for you safety, Security and Service.

A policy in this progressive Insurance office is a permanent Asset to you.

Agents Wanted.

For Particulars

Apply to the Manager.

Printed by V. Krishnaswami Iyengar, at the B. N. PRESS, Mount Road, and Published by D. V. NATHAN, at 3, Kondi Chetty Street, Madras.